HISTORY OF HISTORY WRITING IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

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HISTORY OF HISTORY-WRITING IN MEDIEVAL INDIA :

CONTEMPORARY HISTORIANS

An Introduction to
Medieval Indian Historiography.

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PREFACE

History is a continuous stream of events in human affairs, ideas and ideals, in politics, society and culture including literature, philosophy, religion and art. Any attempt at periodisation is bound to be somewhat arbitrary and inadequate. One period shades imperceptibly into another. Nevertheless periodisation has been found to be convenient. In Europe the Middle Ages are considered to have lasted for about 1000 years, from the fall of Rome in A.D. 476 before the barbarians to the fall of Constntinople in A.D. 1453 before the Turks leading first to the Renaissance and then the Reformation. In India the Middle Ages are usually considered to have lasted from the Turkish conquests in Northern India from the 13th century to mid-eighteenth century when the British established their supremacy in Bengal. For purposes of the subject under consideration, viz., Medieval Indian historiography, we have to consider the period from c A.D. 700—c. 1757 i.e., roughly a little more than 1000 years.

The house of medieval Indian history which we are examining today and which we are endeavouring to reconstruct, develop or beautify is the legacy of the past thirteen hundred years or so. True, the modern conception of a scientific, humanistic, rational, self-revelatory and interpretative history was unknown to the medieval historians. But it was on a medieval base, partly Hindu and mainly Muslim, that the pioneers of modern Indian historiography on medieval period raised their structure of history. To this culmination have contributed successive generations of scholars of various nationalities, British, non-British (French, Dutch, German, Russian, American and others), Indian and Pakistani during wellnigh two centuries. So an Indian writer commenting in the late seventies of the twentieth century on the writing of Indian history during the medieval period, cannot afford to forget the deep debt he owes to his **purvasuris.** The book is, therefore, respectfully dedicated to them.

In the post-graduate and honours classes of most of our Indian universities, we study and teach political and economic theories, history of political and economic thought, history of literature and history of philosophy. But the study or teaching of

history of historical thought is an exception rather than the rule. The result has been that our students and even advanced research scholars are practically in the dark about the history of History, the history of historical writings. We come into close touch with the master minds of the world through the ages in the fields of philosophy, religion, literature, economics and politics. But in most Indian universities students in the post-graduate and honours classes know very little about the ideas of history of historians of the world from Herodotus, the father of History, to our own day, about the varieties of History and the changing concepts of History in different epochs. Far less do we know of the ideas of History and currents of historical thought—if any, in different periods of Indian History. Very recently a few universities in India are seeking to introduce the subject in their post-graduate courses of study.

The importance of making bibliographical and historiographical studies can hardly be overemphasized. There are numerous books on the subject in Europe and America. Mention may be made of the following among others : J. B. Bury, **The Ancient Greek Historians** (1909); J. H. Robinson, **History** (1908), **The New History** (1912); J. T. Shotwell, **Introduction to the History of History** (1922); G. P. Gooch, **History** & **Historians in the Nineteenth Century** (1928) ; D. S. Margoliouth, **Lectures on Arabic Historians** (1930); H. E. Barnes, **History of Historical Writing** (1937); J. W. Thompson (with collaboration of B. J. Holmes), **A History of Historical Writing** (N. Y. 2 vols. 1954); Richard Hofstadter, **Social Darwinism in American Thought,** 1860-1915 (1945); Collingwood, **The Idea of History** (1946); H. Ausubel, **The Historians and Their Craft** (1950); F. Rosenthal, **A History of Muslim Historiography** (1952); P. Hardy, **Historians of Medieval India** (1960).

Among very recent works may be mentioned A. C. Danto, **Analytical Philosophy of History,** J. R. Hale, **Evolution of British Historiography from Bacon to Namier,** D. Knowles, **The Historian** & **Character,** Roach, **Bibliography of Modern History,** H. Trevor-Roper, **Essays in British History,** and G. Kitson Clark and G. R. Elton, **Guide to Research Facilities in History.** The list can easily be enlarged.

As regards articles in periodicals one may conveniently and profitably refer to works like J. D. Pearson's **Index Islamicus,**

1906-60 and 1960- , being catalogues of articles on Islamic subjects, in periodicals as well as B. A. Fernendez, **Bibliography of Indian History** & **Oriental Research. A Guide to Indian Periodical Literature** is also being published by Prabhu Book Service, Gurgaon (Haryana) from 1964. Mrs Margaret H. Case's **South Asian History** 1750-1950 is an extremely valuable 'Guide to Periodicals Dissertations & Newspapers (Princeton University Press, 1968). In the words of Stephen N. Hay, who has written a Foreword to that work, "This volume greatly extends our bibliographical control over several types of source material important for the study of the history of the Indian-Pakistan sub-continent during the past two centuries."

A bibliography of Indology, mentioning basic publications on all aspects of Indian history & culture in different languages is published yearwise regularly by the National Library, Calcutta. The Bulletins of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, the publications of the Inter-University Board of India and Ceylon, and of some universities like Allahabad (1887-1967, published 1969), Benares (1927-65), Rajasthan (Jaipur), Patna, Ranchi and Bhagalpur, throw helpful light on the state of research in progress or theses and dissertations accepted for doctorate. If such bulletins or guide books are easily available in all universities and important libraries it will be extremely useful for research scholars and teachers.

Again, apart from books and journals, several study conferences were held during 1956-1958 by the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, to review and assess the development and nature of historical writing on the peoples of Asia, viz., China and Japan, South East Asia, the Near and Middle East, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, under the general direction of Professor C. H. Philips. But so far as Indian historiography is concerned we are still in a backwater compared to the west. The literature on the subject is very meagre indeed. Until recently there were no standard works on Indian historiography, ancient, medieval and modern. For the Mughal period and also for the medieval period the first bibliography was written by Professor Sri Ram Sharma (**Bibliography of Mughal India** 1526-1707, undated). For the modern period Dr. K. K. Dutta compiled '**A Survey of recent studies on Modern Indian History**' (1957). The last twenty years have, however, witnessed increasing interest in

bibliographical and historiographical studies. Buddhaprakasa wrote on **The Modern Approach to History** (1963). Several conferences were held on different aspects of historiography. The credit for setting the ball rolling belongs to Dr. S. P. Sen, Director of the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta. In 1963 he organised the first symposium on Indian historiography, ancient, medieval and modern, in connection with the Annual Conference of his Institute, and commissioned me to write a survey of Indian historiography for the medieval period, reviewing briefly but critically Indian historical writing, bringing out the general trends and indicating the fields which have not been covered adequately so far. My paper was read in the Annual Conference of his Institute in September 1963 and was published in the **Quarterly Review of Historical Studies,** vol. III (1963-64) Parts I and II. Next year too, at this request I submitted another paper on 'Ideas of History (Medieval Period)' which was read in the Annual Conference of the Institute and was published in the above-mentioned journal vol. IV (1964-65), Parts I and II. These were also published by me as separate monographs. In November 1965, Dr. Biseshwar Prasad, then Professor of History, University of Delhi, organised a seminar on Ideas motivating History (Modern Period of Indian History). This was followed by another seminar in January 1966 on Ideas motivating History (Medieval Period), to which I sent a paper entitled 'Political Expediency in Pre-Akbaride Period.' But the proceedings have not yet been published. At the request of Dr. Mohibbul Hasan, then Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History and Culture, Jamia Millia, New Delhi, I submitted a paper entitled 'Personal History of Some Medieval Historians and Their Writings' to the seminar organised by him in January 1966, which has been published in **'Historians of Medieval India'** (1968). My paper on 'Writing of Indian History (Medieval Period) : Retrospect and Prospect', submitted at the request of Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharyya, then Professor and Head of the Department of History, Visva Bharati, Santiniketan (now deceased), on the occasion of a seminar organised there in August-September 1966, has also been published in the proceedings of the seminar (1968). Lastly, at the request of Dr. Ram Saran Sharma, then Professor & Head of the Department of History, Patna University, I submitted a paper

on "The Stages of the growth of Historical Literature in Medieval India" for the seminar on "The Periodisation of Indian History", organised by him in November 1967. Miss Katharine Smith Diehl of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta, organised a seminar at Calcutta on Primary Printed Sources for Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century Studies Available in Bengal Libraries in June 1968, where I gave a talk on Political and Socio-Economic History Primary Printed Sources (see the Proceedings vol. American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta, 1968). Dr. S. P. Sen arranged a symposium on 'Historians and Historiography in Modern India' at the Sixth Annual Conference of his Institute at Srinagar in October 1968, the proceedings of which were published with the above title in 1973. I read a paper entitled 'Historical Biography in Persian Literature' in the Eleventh Annual Conference of his Institute at Kolhapur in October, 1973, the proceedings of which have not yet been published.

It is a happy sign that during this period the attention of a few scholars has also been drawn to this subject. The trend is exemplified in S. R. Tikekar, **On Historiography,** a study of methods of historical research and narration of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, G. S. Sardesai and P. K. Gode (1964); J. D. Pearson, **Oriental and Asian Bibliography** (1966); Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, **Studies in Indian History** & **Culture** (1965), Dr. Vishwambhar Sharan Pathak, **Ancient Historians of India, A Study in Historical Biogrpahies** (1966). While Dr. P. Saran has compiled a **'Descriptive Catalogue of Non-Persian Sources on Medieval Indian History** (1965), D. B. Taraporevala and D. N. Marshall wrote **Mughal Bibliography ;** Select Persian Sources for the study of Mughals in India (1962). Prof. D. N. Marshall has also written a detailed and critical bibliographical survey entitled **Mughals in India, a Bibliographical Survey** (Vol. 1, mss. 1967). Dr. G. N. Sharma has written on **Bibliography of Mediaeval Rajasthan** (1966), and Dr. K. S. Lal on **'Studies in Medieval History** (1966), containing an essay on 'History & Historiography'. Professor Ganda Singh has compiled **'A Bibliography of the Punjab** (1966) ; Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta has edited the **Bulletin of the School of Historical and Cultural Studies** (Vol. I, No. 1, 1965). Binayendra Sengupta has compiled **'Indiana,** a select list of reference and representative books on all aspects of Indian life and culture' (1966). In his **Asian Studies** (Vol. 1), Balkrishna

Gokhale has given a collection of papers on aspects of Asian history and civilization (1966). A concise but critical account of **Historiography in Modern India** has been given by R. C. Majumdar (1970). Asis Basu has prepared an inventory of source materials on **Urbanisation in India** (1970); Sankar Sen Gupta has written **A Bibliography of Indian Folklore** & **related subjects** (1971); A. K. Warder on **An Introducton to Indian Historiography** (1971); Nirmal Singal on **Bibliography of Selected Indian Books** (1971); Haris Chandraprasad and Gita Sen Gupta have compiled **'A Bibliography of Folklore of Bihar, books, articles, reports and monographs in English and Hindi,** 1971. Mukundalal Chakrabarti has discussed **Bibliography in theory and practice** (1971). Kulkarni and D'Souza have written on **Historiography in Indian Languages** (1972). Vijay Singal has compiled a **Bibliography of Selected Indian Books** on art and culture published from late 1974 to the first half of 1975. Historiography in Akbar's reign has been critically studied by Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi (Australia) and Dr. H. Mukhia, the former in **Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign** (1975), the latter in **Historians and Historiography during the Reign of Akbar** (1976).

The present work represents in a consolidated form the fruits of my occasional studies on Medieval Indian Historiography during the last fourteen years. The favourable reception of the above mentioned essays of mine (and particularly those published in 1963-64 and 1964-65) by my colleagues and students has encouraged me to have these published now as a comprehensive book. The materials have been rearranged, revised with additions and alterations to give an underlying unity to the broad theme of the work. Originally I had planned to bring out the book in one volume with two parts. The material was prepared nearly ten years ago but various difficulties and pre-occupations unfortunately stood in the way of giving the book its final form for publication. The book was about to be handed over to one publisher about fifteen months ago when the negotiations fell through. My subsequent visit to Mexico to attend the 30th International Congress of Orientalists in August 1976, followed by visits to Canada and the States, my participation in the Indian History Congress as its General President at the Calicut session in December, 1976, some domestic and personal events like

bereavements, marriages, illness etc., all combined to keep the typescript in the cold storage again. An urgency has, however, now been provided by an apprehension that further delay might adversely affect whatever claims my book may have as a pioneering work in the field. Hence it is now being rushed through in two separate companion volumes so as to maintain that claim of priority.

Of these two volumes, the present one, entitled 'History of History Writing **in** Medieval India', deals with the writings of **contemporary medieval** historians. The second companion volume entitled 'History of History Writing **on** Medieval India', analyses the trends of the writings of **modern** historians working thereon. Both the volumes are intended to serve as an introduction to the study of Medieval Indian Historiography as the subtitle will show.

The first volume consists of six chapters, Hindu history, Muslim history, Indo-Muslim historiography, Ideals and Methodology of the medieval historians, New spirit and Conclusion. Attention has mainly been concentrated on historical works. Purely literary and non-historical works, inscriptional references, accounts of contemporary foreign travellers, Asiatic or European, have been excluded from the purview of this study here. It is an attempt to illustrate the dichotomy in historiography, corresponding to the social dichotomy of the medieval period, by an analytical review of the broad characteristics, the diverse forms, the ideas and trends of history-writing by contemporary medieval historians, Hindu and Muslim, during a period of more than one thousand years. By its very nature it can neither claim to be an analytical research work in the usual sense of the term, nor be an exhaustive and definitive study of the subject. Within its brief compass, however, it seeks to give an intelligible and synthetic picture of one phase of intellectual history in medieval India. This is the first work of its kind which treats medieval Indian historiography not in isolation but in the background of Western historiography, of Islamic historiography outside India and of ancient Indian non-historical and semi-historical works. This approach has been adopted in the firm conviction that this will be of great help to us in having a better and clearer perspective of medieval Indian historiography as well as history. Ancient India is usually associated with idealism,

tolerance, liberalism and cultural assimilation and Medieval India with intolerance, orthodoxy, bloodshed and horrors. But perhaps such a view of history is unhistorical. Medieval history in India as in Europe has often been distorted and perverted by sentiment and prejudice. Many of the waters of our modern life, good or bad, have flowed from the Middle Ages. 'What we are, we are in large measure because of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages live in us; they are alive all around us.' (M. Paul Violet). Human history has to be understood. It is necessary to shed off prejudices and one-sided interpretations and to know the ideas of the historians of medieval India.

The second companion volume will deal with the survey of modern historiography on medieval India. This volume consists of seven chapters : The Beginnings of modern historiography on medieval India ; Growth of Indian historiography ; Political history and Biography ; Non-political aspects (archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic; political and legal theory, administrative and military institutions ; Social and economic aspects ; European records); Recent Trends; Suggestions for filling up gaps ; Assessment and Conclusion.

The survey could have been made a cruise along the indented and indurated coastline of medieval Indian historiography, along its creeks, inlets, bays and havens, by discussing printed works of individual scholars, the periodical literature and the valuable contributions of different societies, memorial serieses, works on source materials (either editing, or translation or bibliographical), standard histories, dynastic chronicles, biographies of kings, ministers or generals, monographs on special aspects of policy—imperial, religious, or social,—studies on government and institutions, military history or art of war, agrarian or industrial systems, economic history, social, religious or cultural aspects, religious or political thought, corpuses etc, which bands of scholars, European and Indian, dead and alive, have contributed during the last 200 years or so. But there is neither time nor space for such a treatment. The survey could also have been in the nature of a bird's eye-view of only the high mountain peaks linked in an unending chain excluding the smaller ranges, the rising slopes or mediate valleys, all of which together constitutes the range. But this will perhaps give a distored or one-sided picture, and never for a moment can one minimise the magnitude and the im-

portance of the exploratory studies and the value of the vast storehouse of knowledge of this period garnered by strenuous efforts and selfless devotion of successive generations of scholars. In either case, however, the picture will be a still picture lacking the rhythm of life.

This survey of the period covering approximately eleven hundred years (c. 700-1757 A.D.) is mainly of books written in English language and does not cover periodical literature.

The present work is by no means a final study. On account of the enormous variety and scope of the subject, the survey can neither be exhaustive or definitive, however comprehensive it is sought to be made. In fact there can never be a finality to such a work, because one part of the subject is capable of different interpretations, while the other part is not static but constantly growing and the survey has to be brought up to date regularly. I am conscious of the difficulties inherent in the task. I am no less aware of my limitations in sketching the history of and assessing the nature and trends of medieval Indian historiography within a limited space. In the presentation of this volume I have kept in view the needs of our students and research scholars studying and working on this period. If it stimulates their interest in studying the growing historical literature of our country and in endeavouring to unravel the mysteries of the source materials of the period, I would deem my labours to have been amply rewarded. The general reader may also find in it a guide to modern historical writings on a dim and imperfectly known past. I am deeply conscious of the various sins of commission and omission that still disfigure the book. The history of this particular book, explained before, has naturally resulted in certain limitations and mistakes consequent on hurried and incomplete revision and avoidable printing errors, notwithstanding best efforts. Thus uniformity in spellings and in the system of transliteration of names of authors and titles of books in Arabic and Persian, in the use of hyphens therein, has not been maintained, e.g. 'Al' and 'al' have been used before names. Mistakes have also crept in the use of inverted commas for general quotations (either single or double) as well as for technical needs, as for example in denoting **'ain ;** thus Ma 'arif (p. 16) and al 'Ibar (p. 24) should be read respectively as Ma 'arif and al 'Ibar. Diacritical marks have not been given, eg. 'Zahab' has been used

for 'dhahab' on p. 17; 'hadis' for 'Hadith' etc. Italics could not be given as a part of a line. I crave the indulgence of my readers for all these shortcomings and errors. Constructive suggestions for improvement of the book will be thankfully received.

It is now my most pleasant duty to express my thanks to all those who have encouraged or helped me to undertake this survey. First of all I think of all my students whom I have been privileged to teach since 1932. I also think of future generations of the young hopefuls whom it will never be my privilege to teach. The interest of the students has been an eternal source of inspiration. Next I express my indebtedness to Dr. S. P. Sen, Director, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, Dr. Biseshwar Prasad, then Professor and Head, History. Department, Delhi University, Dr. Mohibbul Hasan, then Professor and Head of Department of Indian History and Culture, Jamia Millia, New Delhi and Dr. M. A. Ansari, its present Head, Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya, then Professor and Head, Department of History, Viswa Bharati (now deceased), Dr. R. S. Sharma, then Professor and Head, History Department, Patna University, now in Delhi University, for their occasional commissions which kept me engaged in this work from time to time. Dr. M. Saber Khan, Ex-Member, Public Service Commission, West Bengal, and now Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, deserves my thanks for going through the first volume, offering suggestions for improvement and lending me an unpublished work of his in typescript. My thanks are due to Sri Radhagovinda Basak, Proprietor of Sreekanta Press, Calcutta, and his staff for getting the book printed neatly and expeditiously. Sri Indrajit Chandra, B.Com., and Sri Mohan Lal Mandal have helped me in correction of proofs, while Sri Phanindra Nath Chakravarty, M.A., a research scholar of mine, has done the arduous task of preparing the index. Sri Kshitish Chandra Dey of Ratna Prakashan has very kindly agreed to be my publisher. I have to record my grateful thanks to all who have conveyed their consent to my utilising my materials published previously : Dr. S. P. Sen, Calcutta (in his 'Quarterly Review of Historical Studies'), Saraswat Library, Calcutta (in 'A Study of Eighteenth Century India', vol. I), Dr. M. A. Ansari, New Delhi and Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut (in 'Historians of Medieval India'). My sincere gratitude

is due to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the doyen of Indian historians, who has not only taken great pains to peruse this volume but has most graciously recorded his opinion which is printed at the end.

The famous German historian and philosopher Ernst Troeltsch once observed that at times it is more important to make a beginning than to produce the finished article. Here I have just made a beginning with the hope that the finished article would be produced later, if not by me, by my younger compeers. I have found this study in intellectual history not only invigorating but fascinating as well. Others may also find it equally so. Let me conclude with the pregnant observations of Randall: "Intellectual history reveals to us men thinking, and something of how their minds are operating when they are thinking. The historical treatment of philosophy, it is clear, illuminates all the other strands of cultural history. Conceived as it has been here portrayed as the intellectual reaction of outstanding minds to other cultural and culturally significant events, it displays not merely ideas in the process of being worked out. It displays ideas in action, as they intervene in the other activities of men, and influence the course of institutional development. It thus helps us to understand ourselves, and our culture, our intellectual world. It throws light on . . . the ideas . . . that control our thinking, and that offer opportunities to us to think further by using them."

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CHAPTER I

HINDU HISTORIOGRAPHY—ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND RAMIFICATIONS

The word 'history' is derived from the Greek word 'istoria' or Latin word 'historia' which means learning by inquiry or investigation. Ideas on history have changed from age to age, from country to country and at times from writer to writer. It is a far cry from the theocratic and mythical conception of history in Mesopotamia (c. 2500 B.C.) to the scientific, humanistic, rational, self-revelatory and interpretative history of 20th century A.D. History is scientific, because it is a kind of research or inquiry, answering of questions. It is humanistic, being concerned with exploits performed by or actions of human beings in the past. It is rational, because it proceeds by interpretation of evidence. It is self-revelatory, because the object of history is human self-knowledge,—it teaches what man is and what man has done.[1] Man is eager to know everything. He is eager to know himself,—not only his physical nature but also his mind. History is the re-enactment of past experience.[2] The results of the enquiry must be told in a manner that appeals to men. It must be readable. Hence it cannot altogether be dissociated from literature and philosophy. Here comes the question of style. Further history is no longer regarded as the story of kings or ministers, of wars and bloodshed, but has to be a story of the people as well, of the workings of their mind and 'manus', of their weal and woe. History must not be merely political history. It has to be scientific and critical,—interpretative of the society and culture of the people.[3]

How does Medieval India (c. 700-1750) stand when judged by these tests? What was the idea of History then? What was the attitude of Indians to History in general and Indian History in particular during this period?

Medieval Indian historiography was not wholly a continuation of ancient Indian conceptions of History as medieval European history was in a way a continuation of Hellenistic and Roman historiography.[4] The advent of the Muslims and the

establishment of Turkish rule in India constituted a seminal age in Indian history. Corresponding to the social dichotomy of the period there was a dichotomy in medieval Indian historiography as well. For one thing, so far as the Hindus were concerned, there was continuation of the earlier Hindu conception of **Itihasa** in the widest sense.[5] For another, the Muslims introduced fairly well developed ideas of historiography into India's intellectual history.

Section 1 : Kalhana

Ancient India suffered from paucity of professed histories though there existed various categories of sources—literary or otherwise. Archives and genealogies of rulers might have been maintained in every important Hindu court. But Kashmir is the only area of India with a tradition of historical writing. The Kashmir historian, Kalhana, the author of **Rajatarangini** (wr. A. D. 1148-9), stands alone among Hindu historians, ancient and medieval, and notwithstanding some defects, occupies an honoured place among the front-rank historians of ancient and medieval ages in the world. As Dr. R. C. Majumdar aptly remarks : "Both in the theory and in its practical application, Kalhana's **Rajatarangini** shows the high water-mark of historical knowledge reached by the ancient Hindus."[6] But the standard set by Kalhana was not reached by any other Hindu historian of the medieval period, just as the lines chalked out by Ibn Khaldun do not appear to have been worked out by any other Arabic writer.

Section 2: Rajput Bardic Literature and later Rajasthani Sources

Indian bardic literature goes back to antiquity and is based on oral tradition and records, written in Dingala (a form of archaic Rajasthani) and Pingala (Brajabhasa), and maintained by professional bards and genealogists. The bards, who were generally eye witnesses of the deeds of their patrons, preserved their genealogical records and passed them to their own sons and the chain continued in the family. According to Tessitori, who undertook a systematic survey of this literature (1914-19) neither Forbes nor Tod undertook any critical analysis of their

sources, which must be divided into two broad categories, bardic poetry and prose chronicles. Bardic poetry includes historical poems—the Raesas (poetical legends) and commemorative songs of Charans and Bhats. The prose chronicles were subdivided into chronicles proper (Khyat) and genealogies (pidhiyavali). These were not produced by bards, but by trained officials and genealogists respectively.

Rajput ballads:

Though conscious of their defects, Tod had to rely mainly on the bardic chronicles of Rajasthan written in the form of ballads or 'heroic poems', because of the absence of better materials and because sometimes these supply valuable information: 'the works of the native bards afford many valuable data, in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners; many of which, being carelessly introduced are thence to be regarded as the least suspicious kind of historical evidence'. These, however, had their characteristic limitations, containing much that is merely poetical effusions; (i) their fidelity is 'somewhat impaired' because there was a "sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, 'a barter of solid pudding against empty praise'"; (ii) these are "confined almost exclusively to the martial exploits of the heroes and to the 'rang-ranbhum' or field of slaughter. Writing for the amusement of a war-like race, the authors disregard civil matters and the arts and pursuits of peaceful life; love and war are their favourite themes". (iii) "the bard enters too deeply into the intrigues as well as the levities of the court, to be qualified to pronounce a sober judgment upon its acts." (Tod). Apart from heroic poems, there were 'Raesas' or poetical legends of princes . . . local Puranas, religious comments, and traditionary couplets . . . ' According to S. C. Dutt, "The quasi-historical poems and commemorative songs of the 'charanas' rather magnify, as they are expected to do, the achievements of the princes and the people have left few spokesmen".

Prose chronicles:

The genealogies contain history of names without dates, are as old as the Puranas and are largely correct, if not of fabulous antiquity. But it is the Khyats or chronicles proper which cons-

tituted the history of a Rajput state in chronological order, growing up about the end of the 16th century, the impulse coming from the Mughal historiography of Akbar's age. Contact with the Mughals taught the Rajputs the art of writing comprehensive historical chronicles. These objective narratives were written by trained officials. Muhnot Nainsi compiled his 'Khyat' during 1650-66 A.D. Though not strictly historical, it is an embodiment of much information gleaned from documents (from 'Khyats' of bards, traditions and 'vamsavalis', in old Marwari and Dingal), preserved in the state archives of Rajputana for nearly two centuries at least. Here falsehood is mixed up with genuine historical matter. 'Nainsi does not exaggerate or minimise; he is a truthful recorder of events and, therefore, his work despite its defects has much historical value.' During the 18th and 19th centuries a change came as the Rajput princes had poetic chronicles written. It was on these that Tod, unaware of the real chronicles, depended.

The bardic literature contains much historical material but does not constitute history. According to Forbes it is accurate for social conditions but defective for chronology. Professor Haimendrof has summed up the historical value of this literature : 'While it is doubtful whether a study of bardic literature, whether recorded in writing or handed down by oral tradition, could throw very much new light on the political history of India, it is probable that this literature, only small parts of which have become known in the West, will be found to constitute a valuable repository of information on the cultural history of feudal times."[7]

For the first half of the eighteenth century we have both archival material and historical literature. Archival records in different states of Rajasthan are now mostly stored in Bikaner. These are 'Bahis' (rolled registers), 'kharitas' (portfolio files), 'khyats' (chronicles), vakil reports etc. One category of Bahis is **Bayava Bahis ;** No. 1 gives information of Sawai Jai Singh's marriage wth Bai Suraj Kunwar.[7] **Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khyat** is important for this period. There are several Rajasthani mss. about Abhai Singh, (i) **Suraj Prakash** by Karni Dan, (ii) **Raj Rupak** by Vir Bhan (now printed by Nagari Pracharini Sabha). There are two contemporary Sanskrit sources about Ajit Singh e.g. (i) **Ajitodaya** by Bhatt Jagjivan, his court poet, (ii) **Ajitcha-**

rita by Bal Krishan, and one about Abhai Singh (**Abhaivilas** by Bhatt Jagjivan.) These are only a handful out of a heap. A perusal of recent works on Rajput history would enable one to have some idea of the mass of materials. The vakils of Amber used to send letters from the Mughal court to their kings and ministers which were known as Vakil Reports (1657-1719). These throw light on the relations of Amber with the Mughals and neighbouring States.

Section 3 : Ahom and Assamese Buranjis

The Buranjis primarily deal with the reigns of Ahom kings for 600 years (1226-1826) with occasional glimpses of Shan rulers and princes prior to their advent in Assam. But there are also chronicles of other countries and powers with whom they come into contact. Thus the people of Assam possessed a form of historical literature. According to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, the existence of such chronicles has helped 'to remove the blot in the escutcheon of India's cultural heritage occasioned by absence of direct historical literature.'

These were written originally in Ahom, the language of the rulers, but subsequently in Assamese (which became the court language). A knowledge of the Buranjis was considered to be an indispensable part of education and culture. Compiled under order of kings and of state dignitaries, these were based on state documents—'the periodic reports transmitted to the court by military commanders and frontier governors, diplomatic epistles sent to and received from foreign rulers and allies, judicial and revenue papers submitted to the kings and ministers for their final orders and the day to day annals of the court which incorporated all the transactions done, important utterances made, and significant occurrences reported by reliable eye-witnesses'.

The author of the Buranji of Bahgaria Atan Buragohain, Prime Minister of Assam (1662-79), asked his readers to treat it as a very 'secret document' as its contents relate to the "mysteries of sovereigns". King Siva Singha (1717-44) ordered Manohar Bailung Phukan 'that the histories of his predecessors should be compiled, the succession of Ahom monarchs mentioned in detail, and the book called **Roopoot ;** that the history should only contain the names and transactions of the Swarga-

deos'. These have been studied and edited by Dr S. K. Bhuyan and a few other scholars and the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam.[8]

Section 4: Marathi Bakhars and Shakavali

While the Peshwa period of Maratha history (1707-1802) is illuminated by 'a vast and varied mass of contemporary documents in English, Persian and Marathi', the royal period (1660-1700) suffers from 'an utter lack of state papers, detailed official histories, personal memoirs and public letters such as are plentiful in the case of Mughal history.' Though there are nine Bakhars or chronicles of Shivaji, there are 'no contemporary records of a truly historical nature' in Marathi for the Royal period. What exist are in the English, Persian, Portuguese and Rajasthani languages. The first Marathi narrative of Shivaji's career was completed by Dattaji, his official chronicler and recorder, Waqnis, about 1685. But the original text was lost. What remains of it are extracts made therefrom about a generation later which contain many interpolations and it is popularly called **91 Qalmi Bakhar** (narrative in 91 sections). The Sabhasad Bakhar (**Siva-Chhatrapatichen Charitra)** written at Rajaram's request at Jinji (1697) by Krishanji Anant Sabhasad, one of his officers, is 'the first in date and importance . . . the only work that can claim to be contemporary' (Sen). It is 'the earliest Marathi account of Shivaji preserved intact' and 'is free from many of the legends and supernatural elements which bring discredit to the **91 Qalmi Bakhar** and its author gives evidence of a higher intellect than Malkare's.' But even the **Sabhasad Bakhar,** though written by a contemporary of Shivaji, is not based on state-papers and written notes . . . is entirely derived from his memory —the half-obliterated memory of an old man 'who had passed through many privations and hardships'. Nevertheless Sabhasad 'is still the most valuable Marathi account of Shivaji and our main source of information from the Maratha side' (Sarkar).

The **Chitnis Bakhar** by Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis sometimes gives additional details (of doubtful value) and its account of the administrative system is more detailed than Sabhasad. But its introduction was evidently an interpolation. He wrote

130 years after Shivaji's death and had 'no independent source of information'.

The 'most voluminous Bakhar' is **Siva-digvijaya**, in which some modern Marathi writers place considerable trust. Neither Dr S. N. Sen nor Sir J. N. Sarkar regards it as a modern work and accepts its alleged authorship and date. Sir J. N. Sarkar has categorised it as one of the later biographies or 'bogus bakhars', which 'mostly copies the Sabhasad Bakhar and padded it out with Sanskrit quotations, miracles, rhetorical flourishes, commonplaces remarks, and details imagined from the probabilities of the case, and in some cases also forged letters'.

The **Jedhayanchi Shakavali** or **Jedhe Shakavali** is a valuable chronological record of important points of historical interest for the seventeenth century Deccan (from the birth of Aurangzeb to the siege of Jinji, 1697) maintained by the prominent Jedhe family of deshmukhs of Kari, who went over from Bijapur to Shivaji.

Besides the Bakhars there are some contemporary Sanskrit laudatory poems about Shivaji, about the value of which scholars differ. Sri J. N. Sarkar writes that 'only two of them are of historical value . . . the rest are worthless.' Among the latter he places **Shiva-Bharat** by Shivaji's court-poet, Paramananda, and characterises it as 'merely a laudatory poem written by a court flatterer', as the author 'beats Abul Fazl hollow in the exaggerated praise of his patron' and 'ascribes supernatural feats to his hero'. The view held by Patwardhan and Rawlinson about it is more moderate. They take for granted that it was a poem by a courtier, prone to exaggerate the smallest exploit of his patron. But they give a very high place to it, as 'the historical framework which remains is found to be remarkably accurate, confirmed, as it is, at places, by contemporary records, Maratha or English—there is here none of that confusion of chronological sequence, which one finds even in the best of the Bakhars."[9]

There are valuable collections of letters and documents of the time of Shivaji: **Sivakalin Patra Sar Sangraha; Siva-charitra-Sahitya;** and **Siva-charitra-Pradipa.** Though the royal period of Maratha history (1660-1700) suffers from 'utter lack' of original sources, as mentioned earlier, the Peshwa period (1707-1802) has plenty of contemporary documents. The Mara-

thi Bakhars or chronicles, composed later than the events recorded, are generally not rated high by some scholars. But they cannot be completely dispensed with and have to be used critically. Krishnaji Shyam Rao, author of **Bhao Sahibanchi Bakhar,** lived at Indraprastha near Delhi and knew Hindi and was familiar with the affairs of the Rajputs, Jats and Ruhelas. This has been edited by Sankar Narayan Joshi (1972).

Bands of devoted Maratha workers since the time of Rajwade have unearthed a huge mass of Marathi records and letters. The Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal, Poona, has been publishing such documents. A few sources are listed below :

Chitnis, Chhatrapati Sahu Maharaj.

V. K. Rajwade, Marathi Itihasanchi Sadhanen (21 vols.), collection of Marathi sources since 1898 to correct Grant Duff's mistakes.

Brahmendra Swamichen Charitra, ed. by Parasnis.

Letters of Brahmendra Swami (printed by Parasnis and Rajwade.

Delhi-Yethil Mara, Rajkaranen, despatches of the Maratha envoy at Delhi, Hingane, ed. by D. B. Parasnis, 2 vols. valuable for dates and events.

Hingane Daftar, vol. 1 ed. by G. S. Sardesai.

Selections from Peshwa Daftar, (45 vols.) ed. by G. S. Sardesai—reports of Maratha agents in Delhi and other places. Valuable for dates and events.

Marathi Riyasat, by G. S. Sardesai.

Aitihasik Patren Yad i Wagharia Lekha, 2nd ed. (1930) ed. by Sardesai and others.

Aitihasik Patra Vyavahar (1933), ed. by Sardesai and others.

Kavyetihas Sangraha Patren Yadi, 1930, ed. by Sardesai and others.

Selections from Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries by G. C. Wad, D. B. Parasnis, vols. 1-6, 10.

V. V. Khare, Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha, (1897).

Purandare Daftar, ed. by K. V. Purandare, 3 vols.

Chandrachud Daftar, ed. by D. V. Apte, vol. 1, B.I.S. Mandal; Poona, 1920 (Selections therefrom, Gwalior Govt., 1934).

Holkar Shahi Itihasachin Sadhanen, ed. by B. B. Thakur, 2 vols.

Shindhe Shahi Itihasachin Sadhanen, ed. by A. B. Phalke, 4 vols.

Section 5: Sikh Sources

The historical literature of the Sikhs include works in Gurumukhi (e.g., **Adi Granth, Dasam Padshah Ka Granth, Gur Sobha, Gur Bilas),** the **Bachitra Natak,** Sakhi Books); and in Persian (e.g., **Zafarnamah, Zindaginamah).**

For the eighteenth century the Punjabi (Gurumukhi) sources have been listed by Hari Ram Gupta, Ganda Singh and Khushwant Singh in their respective books. **Panth Prakash** by Gyani Gyan Singh, a late 19th century work (1880), giving Sikh point of view and **Prachin Panth Prakash** by Ratan Singh Bhangu Shahid (c. 1830) deserve special mention.[10]

Section 6 : General characteristics : lack of critical acumen

We may thus conclude that neither the bardic literature of Rajputana, the ballads, the heroic poems, and the **Raesas** (or poetical legends of princes) on which Tod relied, the **Khyats** (or comprehensive historical chronicles) of medieval Rajasthan nor the Ahom and Assamese Buranjis (or chronicles) of Assam (1226-1826), neither the Maratha Bakhars nor the Sikh sources and Sakhi Books can strictly be regarded as histories proper, though they constitute evidence for historical purposes and fall within the range of annalistic or quasi-historical literature. Weak in content these were also generally weaker in chronology. Nor was the science of historical criticism known to the medieval Rajput bards and the writers of the Ahom Buranjis and the Maratha Bakhars. Generally speaking, they were incapable of sifting evidence and over-credulous of divine and non-human agencies. They recorded what they heard or believed to be true,—to please the patron, or amuse the people. These limitations make these works unsuitable for political history. Further, modern ideas of social or economic history were unknown to the medieval Indian Hindu chroniclers.

But these Hindu historical or quasi-historical literature and non-Muslim works on literature, theology etc. possess a value of a different kind. In the first place, they contain valuable data for the social and cultural historian. In the second place they serve as a check on and sometimes as a supplement to Muslim chronicles and give incidental references on social aspects of the age.[11]

CHAPTER II

MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY

SECTION 1 : A NOVEL GIFT TO INDIA

The advent of the Muslims and the establishment of the Turks in India constituted a seminal age in Indian historiography. It added a new element to India's culture, viz., historical literature. Muslim historiography was, indeed, a novel gift of the Persianised Turks to contemporary Indian culture. It will be quite true to say that the Turks introduced historiography as a form of culture into India. The plethora of historical chronicles in medieval India is in striking contrast to their paucity in the earlier period. 'The advent of Islam', writes Dodwell, 'begins a great series of Indian chronicles. Whereas Hindu history is a matter of archaeology, scrappy and almost incoherent, Muslim history possesses a wealth of documents which render it, if not complete at least intelligible . . . But the Muslim chronicles are far superior to our own (English) medieval chronicles. They are written for the most part not by monks but by men of affairs, often by contemporaries who had been and taken part in the events they recount . . . The Muslim period is one of vivid living men whereas the Hindu period is one of shadows'. Moreover, with its extensive and varied character (histories, biographies and letters etc.) and its accurate chronology, Muslim historiography set a model for Hindu rulers and writers to follow.[1] Again, medieval Indo-Muslim historiography reflected mainly two distinct traditions of history writing, Arab and Persian. So in order to understand its nature it is necessary to review the growth and analyse the characteristics of historical learning in Islam,—Arabic, Persian and Turkish historiography.[2]

SECTION 2: HISTORIOGRAPHY IN ISLAM—ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND RAMIFICATIONS.

Muslim historiography **(Ilm Al Ta'rikh)** constitutes a part of Muslim culture. Its study is both instructive and inspiring as

an aspect of world's intellectual history. The Arabic word 'Ta'rikh' means history in general, annals, chronicles as well as era, computation and date.[3] The place of history in Arab learning is well summed up by Joseph Hell as follows: 'The intellectual activities of the Arabs group themselves into two main divisions: activities evoked by the predilictions of the Arab nation e.g., theology, jurisprudence, philology and history, and activities evoked by an instinctive human desire for knowledge; e.g., philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, natural sciences, geography. . . .'

Muslim historiography began after the birth of Islam. True, the Arabs of pre-Islamic times cultivated four chief studies,—genealogies, history, interpretation of dreams and the science of stars. But to them, as among other primitive peoples, history was nothing but saga or ballad, half history, half legend, expressed in poetry and song,—'tribal, nomadic, warlike, obsessed with battle and vengeance, honour and booty, death and destiny, personal, family and tribal pride.' It was with the birth of Islam that the history of the Arabs and the proper history of Arabic literature began. As a religion Islam has a strong sense of history. The Quran (xi. 120) teaches the lessons of history by giving numerous warnings. The Prophet occupied an important 'place in the historic sequence of progressive revelations'. The significance of his mission was preserved in memory and record. The doctrine of Ijma (or consensus of the community) emphasized the importance of the community, whose history revealed a divine purpose. Later generations were stimulated to ascertain and assess the true facts of the early heroes and events of nascent Islam. Thus it is that history writing became one of the earliest disciplines pursued by the Arabs after the rise of Islam. The Arabs brought to bear inexhaustible industry in this task but took a long time to become historically minded. There was a strong feeling against writing down of traditions.

As a matter of fact, 'historiography was an acquired characteristic in Islam'. It began almost on a clean slate. Its sources were pre-Islamic: (oral) stories of the 'Ayyam' (Days); (oral) Traditions (or 'hadis', pious or legal) about the Prophet and his Companions; genealogical lists (used as army lists); poetical compositions (including ballads); the Quran and other

theological works. Arabic history developed naturally out of the needs of the times.[4]

Opinions of scholars about the formative influences on the history of Islamic historiography seem to have undergone a change in recent times. In discussing the extent of influence of Jewish and Christian elements on it, F. Rosenthal has pointed out that the Biblical tradition occupies an important place in Muslim historiography and that Muhammad's interest in history, which was identical with the Christian and Jewish conception of history, stimulated history-writing in Islam. Joseph Hell had once held that while Greek influence inspired Arabic medicine and philosophy, historiography followed the Persian example. Sassanid Persia had become the refuge of Greek scholars, escaping from the intellectual intolerance of the Byzantine empire during the fifth and sixth centuries. The Greek stimulus tended to revive interest in history in Persia. Chosroes I started the practice of having an official historiographer and the composition of The Book of Kings **(Khudai-Namah)** served as a model and source of information to Firdausi. The Arabic translation of this work (c. mid-8th century) disclosed to the Arabs the long and glorious history of subjugated Persia and stimulated their historical interest not only in their own past but also the past of conquered peoples. Secular Muslim scholarship was 'a continuation or offshoot of Sassanian culture', centring at Jundi-Shahpur school founded by Chosroes the Great (Naushirwan) (c. 550), and wider and more catholic than that of contemporary Byzantium. It would thus appear that the decisive influence behind the growth of history writing came from vanquished Persia. Thinking and literature in Islam were largely the gift of the Persians using Arabic as the vehicle of expression. Thus the beginnings of Arabic historiography were inspired by Persian models. But the influence of pre-Islamic Persian historical works on Arabic historiography is a subject of controversy. Professor Spuler rejects this view and holds that there is no evidence of the existence of written historical works in Persia at the time of Arab conquest which could have influenced historiography of Islam. Even the Persian Tabari followed Arabic methods as no others were known. Persian writers of history in Persian followed Arabic pattern. A distinctive Persian historical view is to be found in the epics rather than in historical

works, which, whether written in Arabic or Persian, continued to express the Arabic-Islamic historiographic view. A Persian historiographic pattern emerged in the Mongol period when Persian history was written exclusively in Persian. In fact Arabic historiography grew up independently of Greek and Persian histories and even of pre-Islamic Arabic chronicles.[5]

What was the vehicle of history writing by the Muslims ? First. it was Arabic during the first few centuries of Islam. Even the Persians used it in writing city histories of Iran. Next came Persian. From the eleventh centuries the use of Arabic was limited to Arabic-speaking countries (Iraq to Spain), while a new historical literature grew up in the Persian language. It became the principal literary medium in Persia, Turkey, Central Asia and medieval India. The third major language to grow was Turkish.

Historical learning started under the Umayyads and ran along two separate parallel streams : the Islamic and the tribal. The first emanated from Medina, the second from Kufa and Basra. As regards the first it is to be observed that historical science was derived from tradition ('hadis') and the philologists. It started with the biographies of the Prophet and as a commentary on the Quran (with poetry as its vehicle). In fact the Arabs devoted themselves to the branches of learning inspired by religious motives. Islam liquidated the past and the Quran was the only Book to be, just as the French Revolution, in ushering a new age in Europe, liquidated the past in France (Margoliouth). During the period ranging from the end of the first century and the first half of the second century A.H. writing was resorted to in order to help memory and preserve traditions. The second stream sprang from interest in tribal activities. It was a continuation of the pre-Islamic sagas and genealogies. The settlement of the tribes in cities brought them together and fostered new interests. The 'Akhbaris' were the first historians in the second line.[6]

The classical period (c. 750-1000) of Arabic began with the foundation of Baghdad. Both historiography and literature began on a broad and dignified scale. The Muslim sources now came to be supplemented by the charters granted by the Abbasid rulers, recognising the rights of the conquered peoples. The earliest works written in the Abbasid period, which have been

preserved, included the following categories of works : (i) biography of the Prophet ('Sirah'), (ii) Books of Wars and Conquests ('maghazi'), (iii) genealogies ('ansab'), (iv) classified sketches ('tabaqat') or biographies. The earliest Arabic chronicles were in the form of collections of separate narrations, not running narratives. Gradually more sophisticated forms of historiography grew up viz., imperial and dynastic annals, universal histories, etc.

The third century A.H. (roughly the last decades of the 8th and first few decades of the 9th century A.D.) proved to be not only a most fertile period of Arabic literature but also a brilliant period in Abbasid historiography, comparable to the almost contemporary intellectual renaissance in the Carolingian empire. It witnessed the simultaneous development of Tradition, Law, Exegesis and History. About this time history had grown into favour among the Muslims. The conception of History also changed. History was to be written not merely from the religious point of view. A new kind of historical literature was needed to explore new spheres of knowledge, to bring in non-Muslim nations, and to make history popular. During the palmy days of the Abbasid Caliphate with the memory of the unity of Islam still fresh, the major theme of the historiorgraphy of the major writers was the entire Islamic domain. Baghdad was 'the focus of this pan-Islamic conception of historiography'. Thus arose Universal Compendiums. Baladhuri, Ya'qubi, Tabari,—all these third-century historians wrote continuous histories and not monographs. Their fundamental ideas were the unity of the experience of the 'Umma' (e.g. Baladhuri) and universal history (others).[7]

Now let us come to the categories of historical works in detail : (i) biographies : There were two distinct types of biographic tradition. One grew up in Medina, dealing with the biography of the Prophet. It was at the instance of Caliph Mansur that Muhammad Ibn Ishaq of Medina (d. 767), whose grandfather was one of the captives brought to Medina before 632, wrote the biography of the Prophet, which is not only the 'oldest biography', but also 'the oldest historical work'. Though the original is lost it has survived in the recension (c. 828 A.D.) of Ibn Hisham (d. 834). Biographical materials were collected for purposes of 'hadis' criticism. Ever since G. Weil disclosed

the 'Sirah' or biography of the Prophet to western scholarship in 1843, its value as an independent historical source has been a matter of controversy among scholars,—one group viz., Leone Caetani mainly accepting it, the other viz., Henri Lammens, Becker and Schacht rejecting it. Recently W. Montgomery Watt seems to veer round to the traditional view.

There was, however, a biographic tradition of a different sort, namely, the exploits of the conquering tribal aristocracy growing up in the military cities of Kufa and Basra in Iraq. Here flourished tribal historians, whose emphasis on the feats of their ancestors created a new interest in history.[8]

(ii) Books of Wars & Conquests ('the **maghazi** material'): Feelings of pride in the achievements of the community or clan or family, comparable to those of the pre-Islamic Bedouin, led the Muslims to preserve the 'maghāzi' material before the scholars worked on them. The wars of conquests were treated by Musa ibn Uqbah (d. 758), Al Waqidi of Medina (747-823 or 760-837), Al Mada'ini (d. 830-45), connected with Ctesiphon, the Egyptian ibn Abd al Hakam (d. 870-71) and the Arabic-writing Persian Al-Baladhuri (d.c. 892). Baladhuri was 'a most valuable authority for military history of the Saracens', for he synthetised different stories of conquests in his comprehensive work **Futuh al Buldan.** It was the 'first important work' of the scientific study of history. While Al Mada'ini looked mainly to the East, Al Baladhuri was interested in westward expansion of Islam.[9]

(iii) genealogies ('ansāb'): Like all Semitic peoples the Arabs set a great store on genealogy i.e., the lineage and traditions of their ancestors. Tribal rivalry affected the study of genealogy. The practice of 'isnād' or establishing a chain of narrators helped chronology.[10]

(iv) Islamic biographical literature: classified sketches ('tabaqāt'):

Biographical literature illustrates the importance of individuals in building Islam. Sir Hamilton Gibb holds that 'the biographical dictionary is a wholly indigenous creation of the Islamic community', differing both in conception and execution from the 'biographical sections of the Chinese dynastic histories and the Syrian (Christian) martyrologies'. Such dictionaries were composed in Arabic at the same time and in close touch with his-

torical works. For the study of Islamic culture these are of capital importance. First, for religious and intellectual life, including education and scientific activities, these supply the fullest details. Secondly, they supply data for social history and institutions and constitute the sole material for social activities and status of women. For economic aspects the earlier works are generally silent regarding agriculture and industrial arts, but later works in Mamluk period throw light on trade and economic activities also. Thirdly, regarding political history, they fill up gaps in/or supplement other sources where the latter are scanty or plentiful respectively. The oldest extent dictionary or book of classified biographies (lives of the Companions of the Prophet and their successors) was written by ibn Sad (d. 845), Secretary of Al Waqidi.[11] The conception of biography gradually became wider. The dictionaries became astonishingly of varied nature, so as to include individuals (Companions, reciters of the Quran, creators of tradition, poets, men of letters, physicians, qazis, mystics); while some were of annalistic type, i.e., collections of obituary notices in chronological order. But these works emphasized the communal aspects (i.e., of life of the community) more than the political, as we know from a distinguished later biographer, al-Sakhāwi (15th century A.D.). Ann K. S. Lambton has pointed out that in Persian biographical literature the 'ulama' loomed large, while ruling and official classes received scant attention. He considers this as illustrating a growing gulf between the community and the state.[12]

(v) Universal History or General History of the Muslim world :

Among the first formal historians were the Iranians, who derived their materials mostly from Arabic translations of Pahlavi books. The principal historians reflect Shi'ite leanings in varying degrees. (a) Ibn Qutayba (properly Muhammad ibn Muslim al Dinawari (d. 889) who spent the major part of his life at Baghdad and taught Tradition wrote **Kitab al Ma'arif**; (b) Abu Hanifah Ahmad ibn Dawud al Dinawari (d. 895), whose chief work **(al Akhbar al-Tiwal)** was a universal history from the Persian point of view. (c) ibn Wadih al Yaqubi (d. 891), geographer as well as historian, who wrote a compendium of universal history (872 A.D.) from the Shi'ite standpoint. He also wrote the first descriptive Geography, a prototype of similar works

Gradually the time became ripe for 'formal historical composition' (based on legends, traditions, biographies, genealogies and narratives) in chronological order, and following the Persian example. The **Ta'rikh** (annals) of al-Tabari (838-923), a native of Tabaristan, the greatest Muslim historian of 9th century and one of the greatest of all historians, constituted the first universal history. His views were moderate. After al Tabari the greatest historian of Islam was al Masudi (d. c. 956). Connected with the Mutazilites he was not free from Shiite bias. He was described as the 'Herodotus of the Arabs', travelling through Muhammadan countries for twenty years, and 'distinguished for catholicity of interest and international outlook'. His historical Encyclopaedia entitled **Muruj al-Zahab** ('Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems') is a veritable encyclopaedia and 'attests the largeness of his historical vision, which takes in, within its compass, not merely military history, but also literature, religion and culture in general' (Khuda Bukhsh). 'In this encyclopaedic historico-geographical work', writes Prof. Hitti, 'the author with catholicity and truly scientific curiosity carried his researches beyond the typically Muslim subjects into Indo-Persian, Roman and Jewish history and religion . . . He summarised his philosophy of history and nature and the current philosopher's views on the gradation between minerals, plants and animals in a work, comparable to Pliny's'. Indeed here Masudi combines 'instruction and amusement'.[13]

Arabic historical literature reached its highest point in Tabari and Masudi (fourth century A.H. or 10th c. A.D.). But the Arabs did not achieve much success in producing historical epics. 'Where the Arabs failed the Persians succeeded. Persian literature, in addition to great lyrical accomplishments, attained to outstanding mastery of epical narrative. The Persian was interested in and knew how to present action. History, romance, and mysticism yielded subject matter for elaborate storeytelling . . . The eleventh century added the romantic to the historical and the twelfth the mystic-didactie epic to the two earlier genres.' (Grunebaum).[14] Firdausi (c. 935-1025), the greatest poet of medieval Persia, composed his national epic, the **Shahnama** (Book of Kings) in 1010.

Medieval Muslim historiography reflected two distinct traditions of history writing. The Arab historian's historical conspec-

tus was very wide, covering the entire range of society, politics, institutions and culture. He was not an official historian and his method was to write the history of the age according to certain accepted principles of ensuring accuracy. On the other hand the outlook of the Persian historian was narrower, being limited to the court and he aimed at writing the history of rulers, and equating it with the history of the age ; he tended to become a courtly flatterer of his royal patron.[15]

The divergence between Arabic and Persian historiography which was a matter of slow growth, widened from the 12th century A.D. The revival of Persian as a literary medium had begun under the Persian dynasties of the 10th century A.D. As Grunebaum says : "The Samanid century had created the language which Firdausi perfected and canonized : it had cultivated a sober and balanced taste in literary expression—jejune but graceful, fond of movement but careful of the bizarre, artful without artificiality. . ." Further, "Firdausi's success is primarily due to his tact in collecting and selecting. The sense of relevance was in tune with contemporary judgment. The very uncertainties of his attitude towards history must have helped to make his presentation universally acceptable . . ."[16]

The process of decline of Muslim culture was very gradual. The period of bloom passed away in the eleventh century. It began to wither away in the twelfth. The period from the tenth to thirteenth centuries was one of crisis in Islam. It had to wage a determined struggle against the triple challenge of heresy, Christendom and Heathenism. Shiism had raised its ominous head under the Shiite Buwayhids, Fatimids, the Twelvers and the Seveners, but ultimately there was a Sunni revival. The Crusades had come but were hurled back. The Mongol invasions had given a tremendous shock to West Asia and Muhammadan-Persian culture by destroying cities like Baghdad, Merv, Samarqand and their rich libraries. But the Mongols were converted to Islam. Thus eventually Islam tided over the crisis. Contemporary historical literature reflected the transformation in the Islamic state, society and culture caused by this crisis and conflict.

Baghdad under the Buwayhids retained its preminence for for some time. This period saw the works of Thabit b. Sinan, Hilal al Sabi and Miskawaihi. The work of the Persian Miska-

waihi (1030 or 1032) is mainly important for matters of taxation and finance, economic and social conditions. He was a vivacious narrator and one of the most instructive writers in Arabic. 'Tabari declines as he approaches his own times. Miskawaihi grows better in proportion as his narrative becomes contemporary. After Miskawaihi Arabic historical literature declined. The decline is discernible in the writings of Zahir al Sin Muhammad bin Husain Rudhrawarhi, Shaikh Abul Hasan Ali Ibn Abul Karam as Shaibani surnamed Izzuddin, commonly known as ibn al Athir (al Jazari b. 555,/1160, d. 1234) and abu-al Fida (1273-1321).[17] Ibn al Athir's work **Kamil ut Tawarikh** or **Kamil fit Tarikh** or **Tarikh i Kamil**, a general history of the world from the earliest period to 628/1230 has, however, been highly praised by Ibn Khallikan while Ibn Khaldun borrowed from it. It has also been used and quoted both in Asia and Europe. The **Nizam ut Tawarikh** by Abu Said Abdullah bin Abul Hasan Ali Baizawi (b. at Baiza, near Shiraz), is also a book on general history. The date of his death is placed by scholars between 685/1286 and 699/1299-1300. The date of its composition is doubtful, between 674/1274-5 and 694/1294.

With the rise of new dynasties Arabic historiography gravitated to new centres of learning like Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Cairo. Due to the anti-Shia reaction in Syria, Mesopotamia and (post-Fatimid) Egypt, the study of history was not included in the curriculum of the madrasas, which were Sunni institutions. This implied a return to the old orthodox method of religious studies (i.e., to the Quran and the 'hadis' and co-related subjects like 'fiqh', grammar etc.). Many of the 'ulama' disparaged history which was full of stories and anecdotes. Nevertheless historiography flourished. Some 'ulama' found a religious justification for their personal interest in history ; other 'ulama' holding official posts, or connected with political and military affairs, contributed much to historiography by using official documents and supplying documentary material in their compositions. History writing was also patronised by some Sultans, or nobles or persons in authority. Thus, historical studies, though not positively encouraged, enjoyed semi-official support. The religious and oral tradition-oriented historiography of the earlier period yielded place to a newer and more sophisticated type, written on the basis of official documents by bureaucrats for their compeers.

Another significant change in historiography took place under the Turkish dynasties. History continued to be a necessary part of the education of a civil servant and came to be written from that standpoint to some extent, but the pious madrasa-trained functionary of post-Seljuq period differed from the elegant and worldwise 'Katib' of Abbasid period.

Some scholars hold that the period ranging from mid-11th to mid-12th century, including the rule of the later Abbasids and of Seljuq domination (1037-92, in Iraqi-Iranian region, which constituted 'the vestibule of the Crusades', was not productive of great histories. But this seems to be an underestimate. Claude Cahen has shown that about the time of the advent of the Seljuqs, three varieties of historiography—pan-Islamic, regional and dynastic—and two languages, Arabic and Persian, flourished in the territories where they settled. Again, the martial exploits of the Zangids and Ayyubids (1127-1250) in the Syria-Egyptian region stimulated history writing. Abundant especially are the sources on Saladin. The Crusading period itself stimulated history writing in the Mnslim world as in the West. Not only did history become popular but its scope was widened, the authors being men of high rank, participating in some events described.[18]

There were six forms or types of historiography during this period :

(1) Universal history :

The principal writers were Ibn al Asir (d. 1233) whose work **(al Kamil)** throws light on Iraqi-Irani historiography of 12th century ; and Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi (1185-1257), the Hanbali doctor turned Hanafi, whose work (Mirat al-Zaman) comes up to 1257 and who combines biographical accounts (of 'ulama') with purely historical works.

(2) Regional and local history :

As the heroic age of Islam receded more and more, as the Muslim world tended to split up into separate political units, mutually hostile (not only in politics but also in religion), the tendency to write provincial or local history grew up among many historians. Sometimes the contents of these histories ranged beyond defined areas. Regional consciousness grew as each autonomous amirate in Syria and Mesopotamia had to defend itself against aggression of neighbours. Depending largely on the 'iqta' system, the Zangid and Ayyubid governments could

not be hostile to this regional sentiment, while under the Ayyubids after Saladin such regimes revived with their mutual animosities. Hence in these separate regions e.g., in Egypt, Spain, Yemen, etc., grew the conception of separate chronicles. Not only countries and provinces, but even cities came to have each its particular history and separate historian. From 10th century (and earlier in Mecca) city histories were written out of civic pride or autonomy, e.g., Ibn Yusuf Maqrizi ; Al Khatib (1022-93) —History of Baghdad ; Ibn bin al Haan (1129-1201)—History of Damascus ; Kamaluddin—History of Aleppo. It has, however, to be stated that a considerable part of this local history was more antiquarian than properly historical. Dynastic history also came to be written in some cases.

Local history may be subdivided under the following sub-sections :

(a) Chronological works : Hamza ibn al Qalānisi (d. 1160), a Damascus official, wrote the Damascus Chronicle (1056-1160), presumably on the basis of archival material. It dealt with the first and second Crusades, and was the only contemporary Arab record of the First Crusade.

Abu Shama (1203-1268), 'the traditionist, jurist, grammarian and historian', followed the Traditionist method and wrote 'to prepare his soul for its inevitable destiny'. His **al-Rawdatayan** deals with the times of Nuruddin and Saladin.

(b) Biographical Works :

Ibn 'Asākir (1105-1175) wrote a topographical account of Damascus and a dictionary of famous men there **(Tarikh Dimashq,** in 80 vols.); Kamaluddin, a wazir under the Ayyubids, wrote on the topography and History of Aleppo in the form of a biographical dictionary.

(c) Biography and history combined : Abu Shāma wrote an appendix to his history **(al Muzayyal 'ala al-rawdatayn),** which covers the period 1193-1266, combines political and biographical accounts mostly centered in and around Damascus.

(3) Biographical works, which were either (a) of a general nature, —Yaqut **(Irshad al-adib) ;** the learned but anti-Fatimid Ibn Khallikan (1211-'82) **(Wafayat,** Obituaries of Eminent Men), the earliest general biographical dictionary in Arabic or (b) of some classes of people, Yaqut al Hamawi (c. 1175-1229), the geographer writing on the Mongols; Ibn al Athir (d. 1234) compiled two

biographical dictionaries of the Companions and the Traditionists **(Usd al-ghaba, al Lubab)** but does not mention his sources and 'isnād'; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a-on doctors **('Uyun al-anba').**

(4) Monographs were written either on individuals or on dynasties. While Ibn Shaddād (d. 1234) wrote on Saladin **(al-Nawadir),** Ibn Wasil dealt with the Ayyubids **(Mufarriz);** and Ibn al Athir with the Atabegs of Mosul (1084-1211) **(al-Bahir).** An offiser under Saladin, he had access to documents. This is a check on Bahauddin (1145-1235) of Mosul, Qazi at Jerusalem and Aleppo, a diplomat.

(5) Autobiographies :

Usama ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), a cultured Syrian noble wrote his interesting Autobiography which is an important source for the fixed Muslim and Christian culture of the Holy land in 12th century ; **Umara al-Yamini.**

(6) Administrative Manuals : The earliest of its kind on Muslim Egypt was compiled by Ibn Mammati **(Qawanin al-dawawin).**[19]

Historiography developed not only in the heart of the Islamic domain, but also in its peripheries like Turkestan, Egypt and Spain. Again it threw light on the history of several peoples like Mongols, Tartars and the Negooes.

Mahmud of Ghazni, himself illiterate, was a patron of learning who kidnapped scholars or exacted them as tribute.

Egypt, where historiography at first toed the line of Damascus and Baghdad, came to have a separate school under the Fatimids. Besides Al Qurashi (802-71) who wrote an interesting account of the Muslim conquest of Egypt **(Futuh Misr),** there were others : Al Kindi (d. 961), topographer and historian ; Ibn Zulak (d. 997) writing on history of the Qazis of Egypt ; El-Musebhihi (d. 1029), a civil official under Hakim writing a voluminous book on history of Egypt (26,000 pages) ; El Kudai'i (d. 1062), jurist and historian. But two factors limited this development : first, insecurity of public life, the rulers being whimsical or tyrannical ; second, orthodox scholars avoided this heretical country. Muslim historians did not ignore Christian subjects. The Armenian Abu Salith (Saleh) wrote on the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt. The best example in Coptic historiography, was a universal chronicle till 939 A.D. by Eutychius (Said bin Batrik) a Christianised Arab, and the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria (d. 940). It was continued by Yahya, a more thoroughgoing historian working in Antioch archives till 1027.[20]

During the Mamluk period (1250-1517) the most briiliant period of historiography was the fifteenth century. An assiduous and voluminous writer, Takiya-al-Din Ahmed Makrizi (1365-1442) belonging to a Syrian family born in Cairo, struck a new line. His main work is an historical and topographical account of Egypt, particularly of Cairo. But he also wrote a 'History of the Musulman Kings of Abyssinia', a work on Muslim coins, on weights and measures, a 'History of the Expeditions of the Greeks and French' against Damietta (a primary source for St. Louis' Crusade), and a 'History of the Copts'. Baer ud Din Mahmud al-'Aini of Egypt flourished during the time of Baybars (1455-71). But the greatest writer of the period was Ibn Taghri Birdi (1411-69) who adopted the traditional methodology. At first he continued the work of Makrizi in two books: **Hawadis ad Duhur** (or 'Events of the Times') which continued the story up to 1468 and not up to 1453 as originally planned; the **Nujum az-Zahera** (or 'Brilliant Stars'), a collection of biographies of the greatest men in Islam. His **Annals** mainly deals with political events (official changes, insurrections, wars including campaigns against Timur, relations with the growing power of Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor and the Balkans, etc.) with great objectivity. But he reveals a philosophic type of mind like that of Ibn Khaldun—with the perception of what is valuable in history—and unusual interpretative power. What is important is his inclusion of economic data: prices, markets, coinage, taxation, looms, influence of administration on socio-economic life.[21]

In Muslim Spain there were histories as well as biographical works during 10th-13th centuries. Among the writers may be mentioned Ahmad ibn Muhammad ar Razi (d. 937), who wrote the earliest history of Muslim Spain, available in its Spanish recension, the oldest important monument of Spanish prose; Ibn Abd Rabbini of Cordova (d. 940), famous both as poet and historian; Arib bin Sa'd (c. 996), and Ibn Adhari (d. 1292). The fullest and most valuable history of Arab rule in Spain was that by Ahmad ibn Muhammad al Makkari (1581-1632), a native of Morocco.

Mongols and Tartars:

Whatever the Mongols wrote on Chinghiz and his successors have perished. The only surviving work in Mongol language is

that of Sanang Setsen, a Mongol convert to Buddhism (discovered in Tibet in 1820). The history of the Tartars in Tartar language was written in 17th century by Abul Ghazi Bahador Khan (1605-64), Khan of Khwarizm and a direct descendant of Chinghiz—'Genealogical History of the Mongols and Tartars'.

Negroes:

Before the coming of the Arabs Africa south of the Sahara was an unknown country. The credit of penetrating to Central Africa and writing of the history of Negroland belongs to the Arabs. The chief Muslim writers who have thrown light on the subject were Masudi (d. 956), lbn Hauqal (d. 966), Abu El Bekri (d. 1094), Al Idrisi, Yaqut, Al Omari, Ibn Batutta (1304-77) and Ibn Khaldun.[23]

Alone among medieval Muslim historians shines Ibn Khaldun as a star in lonely splendour. He occupies the same place in Muslim historiography as Thucydides in Greece, Tacitus in Rome, Otto of Freising in the Middle Ages. He was its greatest historian.

In fact the Arab historical works never attained to the loftier conception of history (Hell, 42), except in the work of the North African, Abdur Rahman ibn Muhammad Ibn Khaldun al Hadrami (1332-1406, born in Tunis, died at Cairo) who first formulated a comprehensive philosophy of Muslim history and laid down scientific principles of historiography. In critical spirit, depth and penetration of thought, Ibn Khaldun perhaps equals any western historian. G. W. Thatcher writes: "The great work by which he is known is a 'Universal History', but it deals more particularly with the history of the Arabs of Spain and Africa . .. It consists of three books, an introduction, and autobiography. Book I treats of the influence of civilization upon man; Book II of the history of the Arabs and other peoples from the remotest antiquity until the author's own times; Book III of the history of the Berber tribes and of the kingdoms founded by that race in North Africa. The introduction is an elaborate treatise on the science of history and the development of society, and the autobiography contains the history, not only of the author himself, but of his family and of the dynasties which ruled in Fez, Tunis, and Ilemcen during his lifetime." Curiously, however, this work **(Kitab al'Ibar)** does not illustrate these scientific principles. As

it treats the dynasties separately, there are repetitions. But it possesses 'unique value for the records of African affairs'. It is a dry and bare narrative of facts. However, in critical interpretation, depth of thought, breadth of view and style, his 'History of the Berbers and the Musulman Dynasties of North Africa' possessed that 'dignity of history' which was not realised in Europe till the time of Machiavelli and Guicciardini in the sixteenth century. His influence on succeeding Arabic historians was not much, none working on his lines.[24]

To sum up, Muslim historiography started with Ibn Hisham, a contemporary of Mansur and culminated with Ibn Khaldun, a contemporary of Timur. Between them lay 'an apostlic succession.'[25]

Section 3: Nature of Muslim Histories

(a) *Conception of History*:

What was the Arabic historian's conception of the meaning of History? Though opinions differed as to how history should be written, all were unanimous that it was a record of events, which were chiefly though not exclusively the sayings and doings of man. These were classified according to three principles. The first principle of amount covered in space and time led to the distinction between universal histories and particular histories. The second principle of persons participating in the events resulted in the production of biographies (Sovereigns, Wazirs and eminent persons) though the line of distinction from history was faint. The third principle was to treat events as such, e.g., early history of Islam. Greek literature had parallels to all these forms of history.

(b) *Stages and Types of Historiography.*

From the point of view of evolution, the writers first composed history of Islam (the Prophet and the Arabian antiquity) and then passed on to universal histories, some of which were of giant size. But there were also regional or local histories (as those of Egypt, Syria, North Africa and Spain), dynastic histories (e.g., Khazaraji's 'History of the Rasulids of Yemen'), travel literature, city chronicles as those of Aleppo, Damascus, Medina,

Nisapur, Hamadhan, Herat, a rich biographical literature as well as autobiographies. Further, there were other sectional works on parties and religious sects, and even administrative manuals.[26]

Muslim historiography embraced both biography and annals, but not literary history as a rule. It passed through various forms and stages :

(i) *Tradition*:

It started in the form of tradition ('hadis') under the Umayyads (661-750 A.D.).

(ii) *Monograph*:

It was the typical form down to the end of the 9th century (c. 750-892 A.D.). Ibn Ishaq wrote on biographies of the Prophet, al Waqidi and al Baladhuri on histories of wars of conquest, and Ibn Said on classified biographies.

(iii) *Chronological presentation.*

For the first 200 years up to the end of the 9th century A.D. the treatment of history conformed to the sterotyped religious tradition. But with Tabari (10th c. A.D.) "the idea of chronological collection of events developed into a plan of complete series of annals." (Hitti). Events were grouped under a year. This annalistic method was adopted by others after Tabari, chief of whom was Miskawaihi (d. 1030). The traditionist grew to be a chronicler.

(iv) *Topical method*:

The encyclopaedic Masudi (d.c. 956) introduced a new method by grouping events around kings, dynasties and topics instead of around years. It was followed by Ibn Khaldun and others but it was not as favoured as Tabari's annalistic method.

(v) *Topographical and Local History*:

Al Maqrizi (1364-1442) did not follow the traditional methods of historiography but emphasized the topography and antiquities of Cairo.

(vi) *Scientific*:

The principles of writing scientific history were first laid down among the Muslims by Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332-1406). "As regards the science or philosophy of history, Arabic literature was adorned by one most brilliant name. Neither the classical nor the medieval Christian world can show one of nearly the same brightness." (Flint). He was historian, political theorist, sociologist, economist, philosopher and a keen student of human affairs,—all rolled into one. A towering genius, he was 'admirable alike by his originality and sagacity, his profundity and his comprehensiveness.' He was the first to emphasize that history has to cover the entire social phenomena of human life. Sociologists would regard him as founder of social and economic interpretation of history, while political scientists would rank him with Aristotle. As he writes in his **Muqaddamah** (The Prolegomena): "History is the record of human society, or world civilization of the changes that take place in the nature of that society, such as savagery, sociability, and group solidarity; of revolutions and uprisings by one set of people against another with the resulting kingdoms and states, with their various ranks of the different activities and occupations of men, whether for gaining their livelihood or in the various sciences and crafts; and, in general, of all the transformations that society undergoes by its very nature. . ." (Vol. I, 56). Here he views history as a record of man's social development conditioned by physical and natural causes and the impact of environment on the individual and the group. According to Prof. Khuda Bakhsh, Ibn Khaldun wrote history "almost in modern style and on modern principles". His definition of history, its object and scope, treatment of the external conditions which act and react on national life, his observations on the civilizations of the Arabs, in fine, his whole method of treatment curiously anticipates the modern conception of the science of History. Margoliouth holds that "the initial volume of Prolegomena is unique in Arabic literature with few parallels in any that existed prior to the invention of printing, in that it embodies the author's generalizations drawn from the study of the records which form the subject of the following volumes. . ." According to Joseph Hell Ibn Khaldun "developed views savouring of modern times. All that Ibn

Khaldun has said about the influence of food and climate, says Von Kremer, has been worked out, from the modern point of view, by Buckle in his 'History of Civilization'. What the Arab thinker divined. the British publicist has proved: Between them, however, there is a gap of five hundred years. One wrote in the metropolis of the modern world, the other in North Africa." Europeans did not know him till late 19th century.

Besides philosophical speculations, the work is a 'useful compendium' of the subjects which occupied the attention of the Muslims outside politics. Thus, according to Ibn Khaldun "the function of History extended beyond the material which furnishes the analists with their main topics; including literary, and scientific development, the origins of sects, and the like. . ." (Margoliouth).[27] About him Sarton has remarked: "Not only is he the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, towering like a giant over a tribe of pygmies, but one of the first philosophers of history, a forerunner of Machiavelli, Bodin, Vico, Comte and Curnot." Arnold J. Toynbee has paid the following tribute to his work: "Which can bear comparison with the work of Thucydides or the work of a Machiavelli for both breadth and profundity of vision as well as for sheer intellectual power. Ibn Khaldun's star shines the more brightly by contrast. . . for while Thucydides and Machiavelli and Clarendon are all brilliant representatives of brilliant times and places, Ibn Khaldun is the sole point of light in his quarter of the firmament. . . He has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place."[28]

(vii) *Types of History.*

The approach of the Muslim historians to History has thus been analysed by Prof. P. K. Hitti: "To all Arabic chronicles political history was history **par excellence;** the economic and social aspects of life were touched upon only incidentally. Historical causation was mainly providential because of Allah's constant interference."

(c) *Value of Arab Histories:*

Great were the variety and volume of medieval Muslim historiography. It can easily match Christian historical litera-

ture in these aspects. The nature and value of Arab historians has thus been assessed by Prof. Margoliouth : "Gibbon's assertion[29] that the Arabic historian is either the dry chronicler or the flowery orator becomes true after Miskawaihi's time, but not before. It would not be true of Tabari, Masudi or Miskawaihi (d. 1032). In the vast range of universal, dynastic, regional and local chronicles which we possess there is of course great variety displayed in all the qualities which can enter into historical writing of any sort : accuracy, impartiality, discrimination, power of arresting the reader's attention and maintaining his interest. Of many Arabic historians it may be said that either their work is too mechanical, being the reproduction or possibly abridgment of texts or narratives which were before them or if time was devoted to the composition, it had been employed in literary artifices which would disappear in translation, and so might be said to affect the externals rather than the essence of the narrative. There is of course one notable exception to this : the work of Ibn Khaldun."

"In quantity and variety the Arabic historical composition was certainly not inferior to that of Greece, having indeed a far larger area to cover ; and if it exhibits few works which display brilliant intellectual ability or which are likely to acquire any wide popularity in translation, we must set in compensation of this the earnest desire which so many of the historians display to ascertain and record the exact truth and to refrain from distorting it with fanaticism or partisanship."[30]

CHAPTER III

MEDIEVAL INDO-MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY

During the medieval period Persian was not only the language of the Court but also of culture, patronised by Delhi as well by its succession states. It got maximum opportunities of development. All branches of Persian literature were fully represented in India—poetry, prose, belles-lettres, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, religious books, histories and chronicles, ranging from universal to local. In fact historical literature, a notable gift of the Persianisel Turks to India, was not only extensive but varied.

What was the nature of history writing by Muslim writers in medieval India ? It is possible to discern certain distinctive stages in the development of historical literature in or on medieval India corresponding to the broad stages of political development. These are (a) the period of Arab contact and conquest, 7th to 10th centuries A.D., (b) the period of the advent of the Turks and of Delhi Sultanate, 11th to 16th centuries A.D. and (c) the Mughal age, 16th to 18th centuries A.D. As a matter of fact medieval Muslim historiography in India[1] did not remain unchanged and static during the long period of one thousand years. Pre-Mughal and Mughal histories had, of course, certain things in common but they were cast in different moulds.

Section A: Period of Arab Contact and Conquest 7th to 10th Centuries A.D.

During the period from the 7th to the 10th centuries there were the early Arab geographers and the historians of Sind. The writings of the latter reflect the influence not only of Arab historiography but also of the local tradition.

I. *Early Arab Geographers*:[2]

Travel literature was one of the fullest and most remarkable kinds of composition produced by the Arabs. The vast extent of the Islamic empire, the missionary and commercial activities of the Arabs, the universality of the hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca,

and administrative needs were among the many influences which stimulated travel books and geographical works on even distant lands like Russia. The Abbasid postal system, based on, and an extension of, the previous Persian and Byzantine systems, facilitated communications. The growth of geography was also stimulated by diplomatic relations ; viz., accounts of Ibn Fozlan's embassy to Russia (921) and of Ibn Yaqub's (a Spanish Jew) to Otto the Great.

It is not, therefore, surprising that their craze for geographical knowledge led them to record many observations about India which are highly valuable for understanding the history of the period. We are indebted to Elliot and Dowson for collecting their accounts. The earliest extant work (The Chain of Histories) was that of Arab geographer Sulaiman, a merchant, who embarked on the Persian gulf and undertook voyages to India and China. It was dated 237/861 and is a volume of travellers' tales regarding China, India and Africa. Next, Abu Zaidul Hasan of Siraf did not travel in India and China but he modified and supplemented the work of Sulaiman by reading and personal enquiries from travellers thereto. He was a contemporary of Masudi who met him at Basra (303/916) and each was indebted to the other for some of their facts. The accounts of both these were translated by Abbe Renaudot (1718) from a ms. found in the library of Colbert. The third Arab geographer was Ibn Khurdadba (d. 300/912), postmaster at Samarra (844). He compiled the earliest road-book ('The Book of Itineraries'), listing the stations on the roads province by province, with distances and account of resources of each district.

Abul Hasan 'Abi alias Al Masudi (d. 345/956), a native of Baghdad, was an extensive traveller, a keen observer and 'one of the most admired writers in the Arabic language'. On his own admission 'he travelled so far to the west (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the east and so far to the east (China) that he forgot the west.' While referring to the Sudan he alluded to the 'Silent Trade in Gold'. Ibn Khaldun has paid a high tribute to him as 'the prototype of all historians to whom they refer, and on whose authority they rely in the critical estimate of many facts which form the subject of their labours.'

A contemporary of Masudi was the Persian Shaikh Abu Ishak (Al Istakhri), (c. 340/951). He also met Ibn Haukal in

the Indus valley. Muhammad Abul Kasim (Ibn Haukal), a native of Baghdad, spent many years in travel and completed his work 'The Book of Ways and Provinces' in 366/976, largely based on that of Ibn Khurdadba. Based on the above two works is a book called **Surul Buldan** ('Pictures of Countries').

Abu Abdullah Muhammad (Al Idrisi), a Spanish Arab geographer of Morocco (born c. end of 11th century), wrote his voluminous work on geography ('The Book of Roger', first half of 12th century) at the request of Roger II of Norman Sicily where he had settled.

Zakariya bin Muhammad bin Muhammad (al Kazwini, 1203-83), 'the Pliny of the East', was a Persian compiler of geography (Monuments of the Lands) (c. 661/1263 or 674/1275). Unlike Yaqut he based his book on works of older geographers and travellers. It gives a systematic account of the principal cities in Moslem lands in alphabetical order. But he also includes accounts of some non-Moslem countries, e.g., Rome, Ireland, Scandinavia, whale-fishing, trial by battle, trial by ordeal. It is a highly entertaining work.

II. *Historians of Sind.*[3]

There are certain useful works relating to the Arab rule in Sind.

1. *Mujmal ut Tawarikh*:

There was an old Sanskrit book of the Hindus. The Arabic translation of it by Abu Salih bin Shu'aib bin Jami was translated into Persian in 417/1026 by Abul Hasan Ali bin Muhammad al Jili, librarian at Jurjan. Extracts from this Persian translation relating to Sind, were made by the author of the **Mujmal** during the reign of Sanjar Seljuk, first in 520/1126.

2. *Futh ul Buldan*:

This was of the nature of a 'monograph' which was the typical form of Arab historiography from c. 750-892. Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jabir surnamed Abu J'afar and Abu'l Hasan (Al Baladhuri, d. 279/892-3), was a tutor of an Abbasid prince of the time of Caliph al Mutawwakil. This is 'an account of the

first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Sind. It is one of the earliest Arab chronicles'. Baladhuri did not visit Sind but quotes authors on whom he depended.

3. *Chach-Nama or Tarikh-i-Hind Wa Sind*:

This was the earliest example of regional history in Muhammadan annals in India, as distinct from history of Islam and universal history. This historical romance of undisputed authenticity, written before A.D. 753, was translated from the Arabic by Muhammad Ali bin Hamid bin Abu Bakr Kufi in the time of Nasiruddin Qabacha (613/1216). Subsequent writers like Nizamuddin Ahmad, Nurul Hakk, Firishta, Mir Masum drew upon this work. Elphinstone found it to be 'a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Muhammad Kasim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindu reigns. It is full of names and places.'

Section B: The Period of the Advent of the Turks and Delhi Sultanate (11th-16th centuries): Pre-Mughal Indo-Persian Histories.

Though not strictly historical, Al Biruni's work forms a class by itself, and will be discussed later. The works of the Sultanate or Turko-Afghan period during 13th to 16th centuries constituting Indo-Muslim historiography have been grouped in six broad categories :

(i) General history of the Muslim world, or dynastic historiography, on the lines laid down by al Yaqubi, al Dinawari and al Tabari. The best examples are the two general histories of Islam, **Tabaqat i Nasiri** by Minhaj ud din us Siraj (wr. 1259-60) and **Tarikh i Muhammadi** by Muhammad Bihamand Khani (a member of the military governor class, wr. 1438-9). To the same class belongs **Rauzat us Safa** of Mir Khwand (b. 1433), containing 'a history of Prophets, Kings, Khalifs', and its abridgment, the **Khulasat ul Akhbar** by Khwand Amir (born c. 1475), who also wrote **Habib us Siyar** (wr. 1521-1529).

(ii) Regional history of Islam in Northern India, e.g., **Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi** by Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi (wr. 1434-35). It is a very important source of the Sayyid dynasty. It begins from

the reign of Muhammad of Ghur and ends abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultan Sayyid Muhammad (1448).

(iii) Manaqib or Fazail history, i.e., eulogistic history of rulers or other individuals in prose. A few examples are noted below : (a) **Tarikh-i-Yamini** of Al Utbi (1020-21) in honour of Mahmud of Ghazni; (b) **Tarikh-i-Baihaqi** or **Mujalladat-i-Baihaqi**, by Khwajah Abul Fazl bin al Hasan al Baihaqi (c. 996-1077). It was a comprehensive history of the Ghaznawides in 30 volumes. Portions dealing with Sabuktigin, Mahmud and Masud are respectively known as **Tarikh us Sabuktigin** (or **Tarikh i Ali Sabuktigin** or **Tarikh i Nasiri), Taj ul Futuh** and **Tarikh i Masudi ;** (c) **Jawam i ul Hikayat wa Lawam i ul Riwayat** (collections of stories and illustrations of Histories) by Maulana Nuruddin Muhammad al-Awfi, a contemporary of Qubacha and Iltutmish, is dedicated to Nizam ul Mulk Muhammad, minister of Iltutmish; (d) **Tarikh-i-Alai** or **Khazain ul Futuh** by Amir Khusrau ; (e) **Tarikh i Firuz Shahi** by Shammsuddin Siraj Afif (wr. c. 1398-9); (f) **Sirat i Firuz Shahi** by an anonymous author (c. 1370).

(iv) The Furstenpiegel or Didactic history i.e., regarding history as a branch of ethics, facts being twisted for moral reasons. The best example is the **Tarikh i Firuz Shahi** (wr. in 1358) by Zia uddin Barani (b. 1285), with his religious philosophy of history (i.e., history, an element of divine truth, to be written by orthodox Sunni traditionists).

(v) Artistic forms of history, poetry and rhymed prose (from 10th c. A.D.), historical poems or panegyrical notices of masters by officials. It was used by Hasan Nizami **(Taj ul Maasir),** Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) or Mir Khusrau (5 poems and one prose work) and 'Isami in his historical epic **(Futuh us Salatin,** wr. 1349-50).[4]

(vi) Autobiographical Memoirs :

Perhaps the nearest approach to royal autobiography during the Turko-Afghan period is the **Futuhat i Firuz Shahi** by Sultan Firuz Shah himself.

(vii) Histories of Saints and others :

There are also biographies (or Histories) of saints, poets and others. Many eminent Sufi saints used Persian as one of their vehicles of expression and thus contributed to its diffusion and enrichment. The records of their conversations were preserved in the **malfuzat ;** their correspondence in **maktubat ;** both throw

light on socio-religious life of the age. We may refer to some examples during the Sultanate period. (a) The sayings **(Dala' il u'l Arifin)** of the saint of Ajmer, Shaikh Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti (1142-1235),who had come to India before the Ghorid conquest were collected by his contemporary, Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki. (b) The sayings of Bakhtiyar Kaki were compiled by Baba Farid Ganjshakar (1175-1265) in **Fawaidu's Salikin.** (c) Baba Farid also recorded his own mystical experiences in **Asrar u'l Auliya.** (d) The **malfuzat** of Nizamuddin Auliya **(Afzal 'sh-Shawahid)** was collected by his disciple Amir Khusrau. His conversations were also recorded (in **Fawa'id u'l Fu'ad**) by Sayyid 'Ali Sanjari. (e) Hazrat Banda Nawaz (1321-1422), the saint of Gulbarga, is reputed to be a prolific author of more than one hundred books and pamphlets on Sufism (e.g., **Jawami 'ul Kilam**, **Asmaru'l Asrar, Khatima** etc.).[4a]

(viii) General characteristics of Pre-Mughal Indo-Persian histories :

Medieval Muslim historiography reflected mainly two distinct traditions of history writing—Arab and Persian. Arab historiography had a wide range covering society, institutions, politics and culture, in a word, the history of the age. Persian historiography had a narrower limit, the history of the rulers. Unlike the Arab historian, the Persian was a courtly flatterer of his patron.

Early medieval Indo-Muslim historiography had certain characteristics. Firstly, it grew up in a tradition of Turko-Persian culture and largely bears the impress of Persian tradition of dynastic historiography rather than Arab tradition of history writing, the authors being either connected with royal courts or solicitous of royal patronage. After the tenth century A.D. Turkish rulers, ignorant of Arabic, spread the Persian language in their conquests westwards (to Anatolia) and South-east wards (to India). The Mongol conquests completed the process by which Persian supplanted Arabic in the Perso-Turkish cultural zone, while the Turkish conquests in India in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries stimulated historical writings in Persian.

Secondly, it was a projection of the general Muslim historiography growing up outside India. Dr. P. Hardy has described the period (1206-1440) as "a colonial period in Indo-Moslem historiography—a period when Muslim historians remained aloof

within the 'civil lines' of Muslim historical writings imitating the modes and manners of Arabic and Persian historians back at 'home' in their own records of the adventures among the 'natives' of their fellow Indian-Muslim political and military chiefs; they hoped that their histories would amuse, instruct, and refresh those chiefs when they returned from weeks and months of hard campaigning in the 'mufassil'." The best example of this was the **Shajara-i-ansab-i-Mubarak Shahi,** by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir Mubarak Shah. It gives universal history from Adam (in 137 genealogies), praise of God and the prophets, chronology of politico-military history from 1173, an eulogy of Qutbuddin (the reigning Sultan), didactic maxims for rulers, and a medley of data, cosmological, geographical and ethnographical. But it lacks the critical approach of Arabic historiography. He was followed by a long line of Indo-Persian chroniclers viz., Minhaj ud din us Siraj, Ziauddin Barani and others, continuing the Perso-Islamic tradition of historiography.[5]

Thirdly, the Indo-Moslem historians made History revolve round its 'great men' and deal with political problems and events. History was conceived by Amir Khusrau (1253-1325), Isami (c. 1350), Ziauddin Barani (wr. 1358), Shams i Siraj Afif (b. 1342/ wr. 15th c.) and Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi (wr. 1434-5) to be the history of great men—rulers, princes and nobles, not of the lowly and the base, not of the people. To Barani, the **Tarikh** is knowledge of the annals and traditions of prophets, Caliphs, Sultans and other great men of religion and Government. It loses its value if it concerns with the deeds of mean and unworthy persons. Indeed such persons usually have no taste for it and its study does not advantage them (Hardy 22). Thus some authors wrote eulogies on rulers and individuals,—e.g., al Utbi **(Tarikh i Yamini,** 1020-21), Afif **(Tarikh i Firuz Shahi,** c. 1398-99). These works belong to the category of **manaqib** or **fazail** history or prose eulogy of rulers and individuals. Isami was the only writer above fear or favour of the Sultans.

Section C: Mughal Historiography (16th to 18th centuries)

1. *Categories of historical literature*:

If pre-Mughal historiography was extra-Indian in inspiration and methodology, Mughal historiography reflected 'a distinctive

Indian historical tradition' (H. A. R. Gibb). In fact it grew up as a result of the 'confluence of three streams', one older and two new : (i) the Perso-Islamic or Indo-Persian tradition, local and general (or writing general histories as well as regional histories), which continued during the Mughal period and on account of which a definite breach with the past did not take place ;

(ii) the new tradition of the School of Herat : The Mongol historians could introduce a new tradition in historiography by utilising the vast dynastic archives and other secret and public materials to which they had access as ministers, secretaries or officers. This is well illustrated in Alaud din Ata Malik Juwaini's (1226-83) **Tarikh i Jahankusha,** dealing with Chinghiz Khan, **Torikh i Wassaf** or **Wassaf i Hazrat** of Abdullah ibn Fazlullah, and **Jamiut Tawarikh** of Rashid ud din Fazlullah, minister of Ghazan Khan (1295-1304). The latter not only utilised the archives but secured the collaboration of several experts and even Buddhist scholars like Kamalashri, a hermit of Kashmir.

(iii) the new distinctive forms introduced by the Mughals (e.g. official chronicles, memoirs, development of historical biography). A few writers were possibly influenced by the contemporary compositions in Persia, though the establishment of Shiism as the state religion of Persia tended to keep history in Persia and India apart.[6]

The historical writings and semi-historical literature of the Mughal age (16th-18th centuries) may be grouped under the following heads.[7] Some of these served as channels to secularise history-writing in the Mughal age.

(A) Official records or Court bulletins : The Mughal period is enlightened, unlike the Sultanate period, by extant official records including numerous royal **farmans** and official records of various kinds from the time of Akbar onwards. These form the bed-rock of primary sources of the Mughal age. Some of these **farmans** and orders are given in **Mirat i Ahmadi.** Besides these new **farmans** have been discovered, edited or translated. A unique form of historical literature of the Mughal period was the **Akhbarat i darbar i mu'ala** (news bulletins of the imperial court) or minutes of the proceedings of the Court), taken down daily by clerks. Here we find 'the Mughal officialdom both at work as well as at play.'[8]

(B) Official histories or chronicles: Written by royal historiographers during the reigns of Akbar **(Akbarnamah),** Shahjahan **(Padshahnamah)** and partly under Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, these may be regarded as official biographical histories dealing with the achievements of the rulers concerned. The practice, indicative of Persian influence, was started by Akbar. Of all the Mughal historiographers, Abul Fazl, the first historiographer of Akbar, the author of the **Akbarnamah,** comes nearest to the modern conception of a historian, though his approach to history was 'rex-centric'. Along with the **Ain i Akbari,** it gives a full picture of political affairs, the government, social and economic condition of the country. Inayetullah continues the story of Abul Fazl after his murder till Akbar's death in **Takmil-i-Akbarnamah** though with many omissions. The **Alamgirnamah** covers the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. He stopped the practice from the 11th year of his reign out of deference to moral scruples and perhaps also for financial reasons. The complete official history of the reign **(Maasir i Alamgiri)** was written by Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan long after his death (1710). A critical review of these would be given in the next chapter.[9]

(C) Royal autobiographies and memoirs: The Timurides were themselves highly educated or patrons of learning and literature. The memoirs, introduled by them, differed from formal lhronicles and constituted a most novel feature. These were written by members of royal family as well as by private persons. The **Malfuzat i Timuri** or **Tuzuk i Timuri** was an autobiographical memoir of Timur for 41 years of his life written in Chaghtai Turki. The authenticity of the work, once suspect, is now accepted, thanks to Major Davy. The method of recording the events of Timur's life, described some years after his death by Sharfuddin Yazdi, author of **Zafarnamah** (1424) supplied a model for that used by Abul Fazl later in writing the **Akbarnamah.** The tradition of Timur was continued by Babur in **Tuzuk i Baburi** and by Jahangir in **Tuzuk i Jahangiri.**

Among the memoirs may be mentioned (i) **Tarikh i Rashidi** by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Babur's cousin, (ii) **Humayunnamah** by Gulbadan Begum, Babur's daughter, (iii) **Tazkirat ul Waqiat** by Jauhar Aftabchi, Humayun's ewer-bearrer, (iv) **Waqiat i Asad Beg,** whose author was in Abul Fazl's serviie for 17 years till the latter's murder. Akbar appointed him a mansabdar of 125 and

asked him to report on the failure of the expedition to Bijapur and Golkonda. He narrated his experiences.[10] Mirza Nathan's **Baharistan-i-Ghaibi** wll be dealt with under regional history.

(D) Non-official or Private Histories or historical biographies :

Strictly speaking the term 'non-official' history or biography is a misnomer,—for anybody, who was somebody, was either in imperial service or in the personal staff of some officer. But it only means that none of such authors wrote to imperial order.

Babur: The **Waqiat i Baburi** by Zainuddin, Babur's Sadr, generally follows the **Tuzuk** but gives additional details from personal knowledge. **Habib us Siyar** by Khwand Amir (1474-1534) a contemporary account of (Shah Ismail and) Babur, is 'one of the best universal histories attempted by Muslim historians', sober, methodical and fairly impartial. **Tarikh i Rashidi** was written (1551) by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Babur's cousin, who accompanied Babur to Badakhshan after the battle of Merv. (1510).[11]

Humayun : **Humayunnamah** by Gulbadan Begum, and **Tazkirat ul Waqiat** by Jauhar Aftabchi, mentioned before, were written under Akbar's orders to supply materials for the **Akbarnamah** and were based on their personal knowledge of men and affairs. The **Humayunnamah** of Khwand Mir (written 1535) is especially valuable for Humayun's political institutions.[12]

For the Surs, we have **Tarikh i Sher Shahi** by Abbas Sarwani (connected with Sher by marriage), written at Akbar's order to supply materials for **Akbarnamah; Tarikh i Daudi** from Bahlol to Daud, 1595) by Abdullah (**temp.** Jahangir) ; **Makhzani i Afaghana** by Niamatullah (wr. 1613), (a history of the Afghans with enough biographical material), besides **Tarikh i Khan i Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan i Afaghana ; Waqiat i Mushtaqi** by Rizquallah.[13]

Akbar : Due to Akbar's patronage of literature there was an unprecedented outburst of literary activities. Several historical works with considerable biographical material were composed during his reign. The earliest known work on Akbar was **Nafais ul Maasir** by Mir Ala ud daula Qazvini, a poet. Written during 1565-6 and 1574-5 it is primarily a biographical dictionary of poets but it also deals with Babur, Humayun and Akbar and their nobles as well. Haji Muhammad 'Arif Qandahari, the author of **Tarikh i Akbar Shahi** or **Tarikh i Akbari,** an account of India under her Muslim kings (written 1578-1581) was attached to Bairam Khan, and was subsequently employed in the re-

venue department under Muzaffar Khan Turbati. Representing Akbar as a devout Muslim he does not allude much to his religious views or refer to remission of 'jaziya' (1564). It was, however, a fragmentary work up to 1573-80. The **Tarikh-i-Alfi** was composed by a board of seven editors at Akbar's behest to commemorate the completion of 1000 years **(alf)** of Islam (1591-2) by means of an objective history. It tries to depict Akbar as the Padshah of Islam, preferring his policy of opening careers (even of foreigners) to talent to that of encouraging local talents as by Sultan of Turkey. Mulla Ahmad's **Tarikh i Alfi,** (1591-2) a general history of the eastern world since the death of the Prophet in A.D. 632, mostly abridged (1585-9) from **Akbarnamah** (regarding Mughal period, has no independent value. **Tabaqat i Akbari (Tarikh i Nizami)** (till 39th regnal year) by Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi (wr. 1593-4), a general history of Muslim India, becoming fuller as it approaches the Mughal period and **Muntakhab ut Tawalikh** by Abdul Qadir Badauni, a general history of India (1595) will be discussed in detail in next chapter. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi, the author of **Tarikh i Haqqi** or **Zikrul Muluk** (wr. 1595-6), a general history of Muslim India, was a contemporary writer, regarded as a saint after his death. His account of Akbar is valuable as a corrective to Badaoni's. Shaikh Ilahdad Faizi Sirhindi wrote **Akbarnama** (1601) and Shaikh Nurul Huq (son of Shaikh Abdul Huq) wrote **Zubdat ut Tawarikh** (1606), both under the patronage of Shaikh Farid Bokhari.[14]

Tarikh i Khandan i Timuria by an anonymous author deals with the history of the Timurides till Akbar's 22nd regnal year. Its profuse illustrations make it an indispensable reference book for 'Mughal' painting.

Jahangir : The **Iqbalnama i Jahangiri** by Muhammad Sharif Mutamad Khan Bakhshi written during the reign of Jahangir is in three parts. The first covering the history of the Timurides till the end of Humayun's reign and the second that of Akbar are summaries of contemporary accounts. But the work also gives additional information on the basis of contemporary knowledge. Its third part on Jahangir's reign generally follows the Tuzuk for the first 19 years but also supplements the Tuzuk. **Maasir i Jahangiri** by Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan, composed during the reign of Shahjahan, gives another version of events

of Jahangir's reign and gives a detailed biography while he was a prince. So it is useful for Akbar's reign also. There is a metrical **Jahangirnama** by a contemporary poet which gives additional details.[15]

Shahjahan : There were several historians who wrote accounts of the reigns of Shahjahan and of his predecessors, e.g., **Amal i Swalih** by Muhammad Swalih Kambu, a complete history of Shahjahan's reign (wr. 1666) along with accounts of Sayyids, Shaikhs, men of letters and lists of princes and mansabdars. **Mazmul-Mufassil** by M. Muhammad (wr. 1065/1655) traces the relation of the Mughal emperors with the provincial dynasties and also contains an account of saints and scholars of different places ; **Shahjahannamah** or **Tawarikh i Shahjahani** by Muhammad Sadiq Khan, a waqainavis at Agra, participating at battle of Samugarh, and claiming to have written it from personal knowledge. It is a complete and unique history of Shahjahan down to his imprisonment. As darogha of Ghusalkhana he enjoyed a very honoured intimate position, and could, as a private chronicler, record his narrative independently. His account of Ali Mardan's surrender of Qandahar has an independent value. It was pirated by Khafi Khan. **Subh i Sadiq** by Muhammad Sadiq (then in Allahabad fort with his father when it was besieged on behalf of rebel prince, Shahjahan), a universal history (written 1048/1653), contains an account of the Mughals. **Asar i Shahjahani,** a history of the Mughals, was compiled from Persian and Arabic works, by Muhammad Sadiq of Delhi, a contemporary of Shahjahan. He says that Babur very nearly lost the battle of Panipat and describes Humayun's relations with contemporary scholars and saints ; **Badshahnama** by Muhammad Tahir, Shahjahan's imperial librarian (in 31st year), useful for an account of the revenues of India, a list of Shahjahan's mansabdars (in 20th year) and referring to Shahjahan's linguistic equipments and knowledge of Hindi ; **Badshahnama** by Mutamad Khan, a contemporary summary account of Shahjahan ; **Kulyat i Qudsi** includes a metrical biography of Shahjahan ; **Shahjahannama** by Bhagwandas, an abridged history of India written during the reign of Shahjahan ; **Intakhab i Waqaat i Shahjahani** by Md. Zahid (wr. 1080/1669-70), an abridgment of standard histories of Shahjahan's reign at the request of Muzzam Shah Alam. The War of Succession among Shahjahan's sons supplied the theme to several

historians : (i) Aqil Khan Razi, Aurangzeb's equery, wrote **Zafarnama-i'Alamgiri** also called **Halat i Aurangzeb** or **Waqi'at i 'Alamgiri,** a standard history of the civil war, coming up to the fifth year of Aurangzeb's reign (1663), and used by Md. Kazim. (ii) **Aurangnama** by 'Haqiri', a metrical history of the war. **Khulasat ut Tawarikh** by Sujan Rai of Batala, a general history of India up to Shahjahan's death and especially valuable for its economic description of India of Aurangzeb, as well as its references to contemporary saints, scholars and teachers, as also to the Sikhs and description of the Punjab ; **Intikhab i Muntkhib Kalam** by Abdus Shakur (written 1107/1695-96) contains an account of Muslim kings of India down to Shahjahan's reign with a separate chapter on Sind.[16]

Aurangzeb : Notwithstanding Aurangzeb's prohibition of writing of history several private histories were written during his reign. Of the contemporary histories, **Lubb ut Tawarikh i Hind** (wr. 1696) of Rai Brindaban, **Fatuhat i Alamgiri** by Ishwardas Nagar (wr. 1731) and **Nuskha in Dilkusha** of Bhimsen Burhanpuri and **Muntakhab ul Lubab** of Muhammad Hashim or Hashim Ali Khan, usually known as Khafi Khan (wr. 1733) deserve special mention. Besides these there were **Tabasar-ul-Nazarin** by Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrami, a history of the Mughals up to the death of Alamgir, based on his personal knowledge or information given by reliable and knowledgeable informants : **Tarikh i 'Alamgiri** by Ahmad Quli Safavi, **Waqianavis** of Bengal during Aurangzeb's reign, a rare work ; **Mirat ul Alam** by Bakhtawar Khan (c. A.D. 1683) with a section on India ; **Mirat i Jahan Numa** is another recension of it though it is said to have a different author ; **Mufid ul Mawarakhin** (wr. 1071/1660-1) by Abdus Shakur, referring to some events in Aurangzeb's reign. Abul Fazl Mamuri wrote a history of the reign of Aurangzeb (Rampur Ms.).[17]

(E) Regional or local histories or historical biographies :

Like the imperial prototypes in the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal empire these deal with provinces or different regions or kingdoms. The authors of these works wrote either for pleasing their royal patron or satisfying their own hobbies.

For the sake of convenience the survey will be made area-wise. But the list is not exhaustive.

Northern India : Kashmir : Besides Mirza Haidar Dughlat's **Tarikhi Rashidi** there are a few works. In his **Tarikh i Azami** (wr. 1748), Mullah Muhammad Azami gives a brief account of Kashmir including Mughal conquest and rule, but the description of the saints, scholars and theologians is detailed and rich. Then there are Haidar Malik's **Tarikh i Kashmir** (1578) and Badi ur Zaman's **Lataif ul Akhbar** (for Qandahar).[18]

Western India : With the Mughal conquest of Gujrat, Sind and neighbouring areas, their histories came to be written by local historians.

Gujrat, the richest province as regards the number and variety of its historical records, has bequeathed more histories for the Muslim period than any other state in India. We may note **Tarikh i Gujarat,** written by Mir Abu Turab Ali during Akbar's reign, based on **Akbarnamah** and other contemporary works but giving new information ; **Mirat i Sikandari** by Sikandar bin Muhammad (wr. 1613) giving Mughal relations with Gujrat ; Arabic History of Gujrat by Abdullah ; **Mirat i Ahmadi** by Mirza Muhammad Hasan better known as Ali Muhammad Khan (wr. 1750-60). It not only deals with the history of the province from 1000-1760 but is extremely useful, containing orders and instructions of Mughal emperors and giving a descriptive account of Gujrat.[19]

Sind : (i) The **Tarikh us Sind** or **Tarikh i M'asumi** (wr. 1600) by Mir Muhammad M'asum of Bhakkar, an officer under Akbar and Jahangir is the 'most copious history of Sind' available. It deals with the history of Sind from its conquest by the Arabs till its conquest by Akbar in 1592, referring to a famine here in 1540-1.

(ii) The **Tarikh-i-Tahiri** (wr. 1621). Its author, Mir Tahir Muhammad Nasyani, son of Sayyid Hasan of Thatta, and his family were closely acquainted with the Arghuns (on whom they were dependent) and Tarkhans. It is very confused. Though divided into 10 chapters only four are said to have been numbered.

(iii) **Beg-Larnama** (author unknown) under orders of a local chief, Shah Kasim Khan, to whom it was dedicated. He was son of Amir Saiyid Kasim Beg-Lar, whose family traced their descent from 'Ali and after residing at Turmuz for several generations, went to Samarkhand and thence migrated to Sind. As the

last date given is 1033/1623-4 it is believed to have been composed perhaps about 1034/1625, but the date might range up to 1036 A.H.

(iv) **Tarkhan-Nama** or **Arghun-nama** written by Sayyid Jamal, son of Mir Jalal uddin Husaini Shirazi, in 1654-55, as a compliment to his patron, Mirza Muhammad Salih, great-grandson of the distinguished founder of the Tarkhan dynasty of Sind.

(v) **Tufat ul Kiram** by 'Ali Sher Kani in 3 volumes, dealing with (a) pre-Islamic period, history of Islam up to the Abbasids, (b) General history and (c) special history of Sind. The third volume is considered to be 'the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories of Sind.'[20]

Eastern India : Bengal and Assam :

Bengal is not so fortunate as Gujrat. It has no continuous history in Persian before the **Riyaz us Salatin** (1788). What exist are several historical biographies or memoirs only. The **Baharistan i Ghaibi** of Mirza Nathan (entitled Shitab Khan) is a special history of Bengal during the reign of Jahangir (written during the time of Shahjahan). It has been described as 'the only oasis in this barren desert of historical ignorance'. A Khanazad, probably brought up in the royal household, he accompanied and served with his father, Ihtamam Khan, Superintendent of artillery in Bengal during the viceroyalty of Islam Khan (1608). Later he got some minor post. But he was a self-conceited writer, claiming credit for himself for all successes, attributing failure to jealousy of his superiors and exaggerating his own achievements, even claiming the power of working miracles. He gives misleading accounts regarding appointments in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, distorts facts, indulges in mud-throwing and tinckering with dates. Hence it requires great caution from its readers. However, it has great value. It gives a detailed account of Mughal conquest and occupation of Orissa, Bengal and Assam under Jahangir and of Khurram's rebellion in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It refers to administrative practices and orders and to the extent of their implementation in a far off province as also to social customs and religious beliefs.[21] For Shah Shuja we have **Tarikh i Shah Shujai** by the Shujaite historian, Muhammad Ma'sum. It gives an account of Shuja's governorship in Bengal and struggle with Mir Jumla in the War of Succession, where he was present as an eye witness.[22] We

have a long and masterly diary, **Tarikh i Asham** or **Fathiyyah i ibriyyah,** by Ibn Muhammad Wali Ahmad entitled Shihabuddin Talish (1663), the waqianavis of Mir Jumla, governor of Bengal and the conqueror of Assam, giving the most detailed and an eye-witness's account in Persian of the campaigns of his master in Northern-eastern India. It is valuable not only for the military details but also for the vivid account of the country and the people of Assam. It was used in the **'Alamgirnamah.**[23] There is a **Continuation** of the **Fathiyyah** by Talish himself, giving the events in Bengal since the death of Mir Jumla to the conquest of Chatgaon during the time of Shaista Khan.[24] Among other histories of Bengal we have **Tarikh i Bangalah** by Salimullah. The **Riyaz us Salatin** by Ghulam Husain Salim (wr. 1787-88), based mostly on contemporary accounts is not so dependable as Salimullah.[25]

Mughal histories, official or private, had a supreme contempt for the rulers of the Deccani Shia Sultanates who were styled not as kings or Sultans but only as zaminlars, duniadars or marzbans. Some were not always accurate in details. Fortunately we have for these kingdoms separate chronicles. For Bijapur there are Mir Rafiuddin bin Nuruddin Taufiq Husain Shirazi's **Tazkirat ul Muluk** (wr. 1608-1615) ; Muhammad Hashim Fuzuni Astarabadi's **Fatuhat i Adil Shahi,** 'temp'. Md. Adil Shah (wr. 1641-3). Maulana Muhammad Zahur bin Zahuri, author of **Muhammadnamah**, written at the instance of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah communicated to Nawab Mustafa Khan, and written during 1641-6, uses 'Sahur San' years current in the Deccan, which are nine years short of the A.H. dates. It refers to Afzal Khan's tempting a rebel against Bijapur by offering to save his life on surrender and then having him murdered (cf. Afzal-Shivaji episode). **Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah II** by Qazi Sayyid Nurullah bin Qazi Sayyid Ali Muhammad al Husayni al-Qadiri, was written under the Sultan's orders (last date mentioned is November 12, 1667). The Cambridge History of India, vol. IV wrongly describes it as a modern compilation. Lastly we have the **Basatin us Salatin** by Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, containing many orignal documents not otherwise available, and a very 'valuable and accurate' history though it was a late compilation (1824).[26]

For Golkonda we have **Tarikh-i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah** or **Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi** by an anonymous writer (wr. 1025/1616); continued upto 1629 in **Maasir i Qutb Shah** by Mahmud b. Abdullah Nishapuri (completed in 1622-9); **Hadiqat us Salatin** by Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad bin Abdullah us Shirazi us Saidi (which is the second volume of **Tarikh i Qutb Shahi**) which deals with the history of Abdullah Qutbshah from 1614 to 1643. Aurangzeb's newswriter, Mirza Muhammad Niamat Khan ('Ali'), entitled Danishmand Khan and Muqarrab Khan, was the author of the satirical **Waqai Nimat Khan-i-Ali** or **Waqai Haidarabad,** dealing with the sieze and conquest of Golkonda of which he was an eye-witness. **Qutbnuma i 'Alam** by Sayyid Muhammad Mir Abu Turab which brings the story up to the annexation of Golkonda by Aurangzeb and **Hadiqat ul 'Alam** by Mir Abul Qasim alias Mir Alam are late works. Besides the prose histories there were four metrical histories of Golkonda, all ending in the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.[27]

We get materials for Ahmadnagar from **Burhan i Maasir** by Sayyid Ali b. Azizullah Tabataba (dealing with the history of Bahmani K. and its offshoots up to 1594).[28] Besides there is **Tarikh i Elchi Nizam Shah** by Khur Shah b. Qubad al Husaini, envoy of Nizam Shah to Shah Tahmasp (soon after Humayun's departure) who stayed 19 years. The account of Humayun's visit is very brief; that of Tahmasp's invasion of Qandahar, ill-informed. Instances can be multiplied.

(F) Biographical literature :

The framework of history is one of thought, that of biography is one of narration of natural or biological process. Personal or ordinary biography revolves round the life-story of an individual. Historical biography is one which, revolving round a person or persons, transcends the narrow limits of mere historical evolution, and in a sense partakes of the character of true history and even of universal history, involving due research, interpretation and historical thought processes. The concept of historical biography in the west is said to have grown in the age of the Italian Renaissance. But in olden times biography was intimately connected with contemporary history and culture. The 'great man' theory of historical interpretation, though controver-

sial, has been very popular throughout the ages—in Graeco-Roman, medieval European and medieval Muslim historiography. It would thus be difficult to draw a hard and fast line of division between history and biography.[29]

In this category we may include royal autobiographies, private biographies, memoirs of nobles and biographical dictionaries. Several writers and nobles narrated their own experiences, impressions or accounts of their contemporaries.

Humayun's Mir i Saman Bayazid Biyat wrote his **Muktasar,** also called **Tarikh-i** (or **Tazkira i) Humayun wa Akbar** about 1591-2 in Turki in compliance with Akbar's general circular about submitting written accounts on Humayun. This partook of the character of 'rambling' reminiscences written from the standpoint of an orthodox Muslim. It is valuable for lists of nobles and sidelights on administration but its dates are confusing.

Asad Beg, formerly in Abul Fazl's service since 1585, was appointed mansabdar by Akbar. He continued his memoirs **(Waqiat in Asad Beg)** till his death in 1631-2.[31]

'Abdul Latif accompanied his master, Mir Hasan (appointed diwan of Bengal, 1608) from Gujrat to Bengal, and gave an account of the territories traversed **(Safarnamah)**.[31]

'Maasir i Rahimi by Md. 'Abdul Baqi Nihawandi (wr. 1025/1616), is a voluminous biography of 'Abdur Rahim Khan i Khanan, then Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, which also gives a short background of the history of Muslim rule in India and accounts of learned men who used to surround him. It throws interesting light on Humayun's Persian sojourn but exaggerates Bairam's role there. A Persian, he naturally takes pride in referring to Persian influence on India, and describes Abdur Rahim as 'a great man who converted India into Iran.'[32]

Chahar Chaman i Brahman by Chandar Bhan has four parts: (i) author's recollections of some events under Shahjahan and an account of expeditions to Daulatabad, Assam, Balkh, Badakhshan and Chitor, and also of various wazirs of Mughal emperors, (ii) description of contemporary India, (iii) personal anecdotes of the writer's life and some moral dissertations, (iv) his autobiography and some letters of his. The last date given is December 20, 1658.

In his journal, **Lataif ul Akhbar,** Rashid Khan shows Dara's weaknesses and follies during his Qandahar expedition. **Zakhirat ul Khawanin** by Shaikh Farid Bhakkari ('temp'. Shahjahan) containing biographical notices of nobles during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan, is a very valuable work. As he knew many of them personally, his references are 'vivid, interesting and well-informed'. It was extensively mined by the **Maasir ul Umara.**[33]

Waqai-i-Ni'mat Khan 'Ali gives an account of the siege of Hyderabad (1686) by an eye witness. **Roznamah of Mirza Muhammad** starts from 1707 but has a brief account of Aurangzeb's reign, useful in giving an insight into the character of some Alamgiri nobles who survived Aurangzeb. **Nuskha i Dilkusha** by Bhimsen Burhanpuri (b. 1649) belongs to the rank of a memoir by a Kayastha Bundela officer.[34] Anand Ram 'Mukhlis was **wakil** of Qamaruddin Khan (wazir of Muhammad Shah) and also of Zakariya Khan (governor of Lahore and Multan). His own family had good connections with Delhi Court. He had several works or tracts to his credit. Both **Badai-i-Waqai'** and **Tazkira i Anand Ram Mukhlis** are collections of his tracts and deal with Nadir Shah's invasion. His **Guldasta-i Asrar** gives Nadir Shah's correspondence with Mughal governor of Kabul. Besides, there were **Makatib i Rai Rayan Anand Ram 'Mukhlis'** and **Mansurat i Anand Ram.** His **Mirat ul Istilah** is a dictionary of official terms, idioms, proverbs, arranged alphabetically, and referring to events and anecdotes by way of explanation. Muhammad 'Ali Ansari, grandson of Shamsud Daula Luftullah Khan Sadiq, governor ('nazim') of Shahjahanabad (Delhi) about the time of invasion of Nadir Shah, gives **(Tarikh i Muzaffari)** some new information regarding the history of the Indian Mughals up to 1211/1796 (or later) as well as copies of **farmans** of Md. Shah and Nadir Shah to Lutfullah.

There are two reputed biographical dictionaries of Mughal mansabdars : (i) **Maasir ul Umara** by Samsam ud Daulah Shah Nawaz Khan Aurangabadi (d. 1171/1757-8) and his son Abdul Hayy Khan (d. 1194/1780) is a welknown biographical dictionary of Mughal peerage (wr. 1742-79), based on contemporary sources and constitutes an indispensable work of reference ; (ii) **Takirat ul Umara** by Kewal Ram, son of Raghunath (wr. 1194/1780), though very brief, gives a general index of mansabdars as well

as refers to some notable events of Jahangir's reign besides a list of governors of various provinces from Akbar's time and revenues of the empire. There is a biographical dictionary of poetry and prose writers of Iran and India, entitled **Hadaiqu's-Salatin** (wr. 1681) by Ali b. Taifur Bistami in Golkonda.[35]

As in the Sultanate period so during the Mughal period as well there were several well-known biographies or histories of Muslim saints written in Persian (or Arabic). (1) **Munaqib i Ghausiya** by Shah Fazl Shattari, a biography of his teacher Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari (1482-1562); (2) **Sair ul 'Arafin** by Shaikh Jamal, a collection of biographies and saints and scholars written during the time of Humayun; (3) **Akhbar ul Akhayar** by Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi (written 1590), a collection of biographies of saints, scholars and holy men in India; (4) **Sair ul Iqtab** by Allah Diya (written between 1623-29) containing sketches of life histories of various Chistia saints down to 1623; (5) **Safinat ul Auliya** by Dara Shukoh contains biographies of saints upto Mughal period with his own experiences during his pilgrimages to their tombs; (6) **Sakinat ul Auliya** by Dara, the standard biography of Mian Mir; (7) **Rubaiyat i Mulla Shah** by Mulla Shah Badakhshi, the famous disciple of Mian Mir. It is a collection of quatrains, mostly on sufistic subjects. But it also refers occasionally to some incidents in the lives of Mian Mir and Mulla Shah. (8) **Masnaviyat i Mulla Shah** is an anthology of poetical works of Mulla Shah with details about his teacher and himself. (9) **Mirat ul khayal** by Shaikh ibn 'Ali Ahmad Khan Sirhindi, contains an account of the life and works of Persian poets and poetesses of India (c. 1690-1). A few of the poets were men of affairs also. (10) **Halat i Hazrat Balawal** is a biography of the saint of Mughal India by a disciple of his.[36]

(G) Gazetteers supply us with statistical surveys, geographical and biographical details like the **'Ain i Akbari** of Abul Fazl and **Haft Iqlim** of Amin Ahmad Razi.[37]

(H) Correspondence: Letters constitute a very important source of history of the Mughal period. These may broadly be divided as official and private. In the first category may be included the **Insha i** i.e., (letters of) **Abul Fazl,** collected by Abdus Samad after his death (1602); the different series of Aurangzeb's correspondence, like **Adab i 'Alamgiri,** the **Ahkam i 'Alamgiri, Kalimat i Tayyibat, Kalimat i Aurangzeb, Ruqaat i Alamgiri,**

etc. and compilations made therefrom after his death ; the **Haft Anjuman** compiled by Udairaj alias Taleyar Khan ; **Ruqaat i Shah Abbas Sani** of Tahir Wahid; **Khatut i Shivaji; Faiyyaz ul Quwanin.**[38] There are three valuable collections of letters and **farmans** of Abdullah Qutb Shah.

(I) Administrative Manuals or **Dastur ul 'Amals :** These are available for the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, containing highly condensed abstracts of facts and figures with additions for subsequent reigns. These describe methods of administration, revenue rules and regulations, give reliable statistical data, figures of land revenue and detail some institutions or duties of officers. The contents will show the importance of this source. But these are very rare, being available in India Office and British Museum or scattered in different libraries. On account of the defective state and bad handwriting of the mss. and use of signs for numerals, their reading becomes conjectural. These defects may be corrected with the help of **Mirat i Ahmadi** of Ali Muhammad Khan, last imperial diwan of Gujrat. The **Zawabit-i-Alamgiri** (Regulations of Aurangzeb by an anonymous author) comes up to 1690. Mention must be made of **Haqiqat al Hindustan** by Lachmi Narayan Shafiq, **Diwan i Pasand** of Chattar Mal, **Dastur-ul-amal** of Rajah Rup (claiming to be a disciple of Raja Todar Mal), that of Khwajah Yasin, **Risalah-i-manasib** of Najaf Ali, and **Kaifiyat-i-Subajat-i-mamalik-i-mahrusah-i-Hindustan.** An eighteenth century work, **Hedayet ul Qawaid** written by Hedayetullah, a disciple of Shah Ahmad Manawwar of Maner, Patna dt. in Bihar (1715) is a store-house of minute information about the duties of officers at different levels, central, provincial, district, parganah and village, and contains instructions for their conduct and also about official routine.[39]

Besides these other original sources include literary works in Persian, Sanskrit and other local languages, foreign writers' accounts, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic sources.

2. *Afghan histories* :

There were certain histories dealing with the Afghans written by Afghan writers. Owing to natural bias they were favourable and even eulogistic to their heroes, the Lodis and the Surs. Among the best known are the following :

(a) **Waqiat i Mushtaqi :** The author, Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi (1491-92 to 1581), was descended from a Turkish immigrant family long settled in India and belonging to the Shattari order. The work is a collection of anecdotes, based on his reminiscences. Though not strictly historical, it is of great historical importance, as it is the earliest work on the history of the Lodis and the Surs, besides containing accounts of Babur, Humayun and Akbar and two Khalji rulers of Malwa (1469-1510) and Muzaffar Shah II of Gujrat. It is also important for a study of the Afghan tribal system and the social history of the Muslims of the sixteenth century. Abbas Sarwani was indebted to Rizqullah for the account of Sher's administration. Faizi Sirhindi rated him highly as historian and his nephew Abdul Huq and the Afghan writers of Jahangir's reign also borrowed from him.

(b) **Tarikh i Sher Shahi or Tufah-i-Akbar Shahi** by Abbas Khan Sarwani, belonging to the reputed family of Sarwani Saints of Roh. It is the 'most detailed history' of the reign of Sher Shah written as reminiscences at the command of Akbar about 40 years after Sher Shah's death. The author was connected with him by marriage. The concluding portion on administration is informative.

(c) The **Makhzan i Afghana** of Nimatullah, written in time of Jahangir, gives the genealogical account of the various Afghan tribes. Another work **(Tarikh-i-Khan i Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan-i-Afghana)** was also written by the author.

(d) The **Tarikh i Daudi** of Abdullah was also written in the time of Jahangir. It starts from the reign of Bahlol Lodi and ends with that of Muhammad Adali Sur and Daud Shah (d. 1575).[40]

3. *Hindu historians' writings in Persian in Mughal India*

At first writers writing in Persian were either foreign immigrants or their descendants. Gradually it came to be cultivated even by Muslims and Hindus whose mother tongue was not

Persian. Thus apart from Muslim writers there are many Hindus who entered the arena of Indo-Persian historiography, after mastering the Persian language. They followed the same technique as the Muslim historians writing in Persian. Brindaban, entitled Rai, son of Rai Bhara Mal (diwan of Dara), the author of **Lubbu-t Tawarikh-i-Hind** (Marrow of Histories of India), had been initiated into a knowledge of public affairs early. His intention was to write a book 'which should briefly describe how and in what duration of time, those conquests (i.e., of the Timurides, including Aurangzeb) were achieved, should give the history of former kings, their origin and the causes which occasioned their rise or fall . . .'[41] He wanted to do so, because the defect of Ferishta's work was 'that notwithstanding its being an abstract, it is in many parts too prolix'. He held his own work (wr. 1696) to be superior to those of others as he treated of 'the extensive and resplendant conquests' of Aurangzeb whose empire was unequalled except by that of 'Rum'.[44]

Bhimsen Burhanpuri (b. 1649) left Burhanpur, the place of his birth, at the age of eight to join his father, Raghunandan Das, a Kayastha by caste, at Aurangabad. The latter was for sometime Diwan of the Deccan. A hereditary kayastha civil officer of the Mughals, Bhimsen spent his life in Mughal cities and camps of the Deccan and saw many places of India from Cape Comorin to Delhi. He was familiar with many high Mughal officers and took a leading part in the occurrences himself. A Bundela officer, he joined the service of Dalpat Rao, the chief of Datia (and descendant of Bir Singh Deo Bundela). In the Deccan campaign the Bundela Raja served as Lieutenant of Zulfiqar Khan entitled Nusrat Jang, the distinguished general of Aurangzeb. His journal, **Nuskha i Dilkusha** (c. 1708-9) is very valuable for Mughal activities in the Deccan (1670-1707) and supplements the **Ma'asir i 'Alamgiri.** He looked at Aurangzeb's reign through the eyes of a contemporary Hindu. He 'knew the truth, and could afford to tell the truth'. He was free from the worst defects of official historians. He has supplied many things which are lacking in the complete official history of Aurangzeb's reign, viz. (1) causes and effects of events, (2) state of the country, (3) condition of the people, their amusements, (4) prices of food, (5) condition of roads, (6) social life of the official class and (7) incidents in Mughal warfare. For Maratha history

under Shivaji also it is of great value in spite of its somewhat defective chronology. Bhimsen gives a high tribute to Shivaji's genius for organisation.

Ishwardas Nagar, a Brahman of Patan in Gujrat (b. 1655) and a civil officer posted in Jodhpur, was the author of **Fatuhat i Alamgiri** (1731). Till 1685 he served Shaikh ul Islam, Chief Qazi of the empire. As the latter accompanied the Emperor in camp and court, the author had ample opportunity of knowing correct facts from the chief officials directly or from their servants. Subsequently he served under Shujaet Khan, Viceroy of Gujrat, 1684-1701. It gives an account of Aurangzeb's reign up to his 34th year, and is specially useful for Rajasthan history 1657-98.[43]

Finally with Sujan Ray's **Khulasat ut Tawarikh** 'the history of Hindu India from the beginning was devetailed into the history of Muslim India.'[44]

The limitations of the Hindu writers in Persian were pointed out long ago by Sir H. Elliot forcefully and bitterly. Firstly, they partook of the usual deficiencies of Muslim historians. Secondly, they do not throw light on 'the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings' of the oppressed Hindus. Thirdly, they were apt to write 'according to order or dictation' and 'every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammadan patron'. Fourthly, they were 'wedded to the set phrases and inflated language" of the conquerors', saturated with the customary idiom, forms and epithets of Muslim writers.[45]

A different impression is given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, while describing the works of Ishwardas Nagar and Bhimsen Burhanpuri. 'The great importance of these writers lies not only in their looking at the reign through the eyes of contemporary Hindus but also in their living near enough to the great Mughal officers to learn the historical events of the time accurately, but not near enough to the throne to be lying flatterers.'[46]

4. *General characteristics of Mughal Historiography*

Out of these different channels in which Indo-Persian historiography flowed, some were traditional and some were distinctive. In the first place, the general histories of Muslim India by Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni were the first

definite exponents of the new Indian tradition that grew up under the Mughals. In the second place, the official chronicles of particular reigns constituted a novel feature of the Mughal age. Thirdly, the local and regional chronicles for each independent or semi-independent dynasty and each province, though less extensive than the general chronicles, reproduced the main features of Mughal historiography. But the memoirs introduced by the Timurides and contrasting with the formal chronicles, constituted 'the most original feature of Indo-Persian historiography'. These were written by members of royal family as well as by private persons. Lastly, biographical literature witnessed some development during this period. To the pre-existing literary biography (e.g. of poets) was added historical biography.[47]

A change is also discernible in the type of history and class of writers of historical literature in the Mughal age. Royal autobiographers (Babur and Jahangir), memoir-writers (Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Gulbadan and others), official historiographers (Abul Fazl, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Muhammad Kazim and Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan), non-official historians (Nizam uddin or Abdul Qadir Badaoni) differ from the writers of the Sultanate period in social status, class, outlook, idiom and approach. The element of personal gain, getting a reward of repaying a debt of gratitude receded into the background or at least was not so prominent now as in the previous period. Further, though the attitude of divine ordination in history is noticeable in this age, the humanistic aspect of history tended to be more marked and the divine causation less prominent in the Mughal period than in the preceding age. Further, the didactic element in history diminished in the Mughal age, when historians devoted more attention to events, actions and measures taken, political, administrative or military, and of their causes and effects than general morals or vague warnings. The most significant change was the secularisation of history in the Mughal age.[48]

5. *Influence of European Scholars and Orientalists*

From the end of the 18th century a new influence was seen operating gradually, i.e., the influence of European scholars and orientalists living in India. It led to a change of method. But this topic falls beyond the scope of this work.[49]

Section D : Value of Indo-Muslim Histories

About the value of Indo-Muslim medieval historical writings, opinions have differed. An ardent apologist of British rule, Sir Henry Elliot (1808-53) did not posses any high opinion of these, and held these to be "for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant and superficial', and 'deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History'. About these he writes disdainfully :

'It is almost a misnomer to style them Histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals . . . They comprise for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence ; without speculation on causes and effects ; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind ; and without any observation calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders and fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. . .

'If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that 'History is philosophy teaching by examples', then there is no Native Indian Historian ; few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store ; though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator ; —but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammedan historians, except Ibn Khaldun.'[50]

On the other hand, Major N. Lees held that notwithstanding some limitations of these he did 'not coincide in opinion with those who estimated as of little worth the large body of historical works. . . .'[51]

APPENDIX

Historiography during the first half of the Eighteenth Century

The death of Aurangzeb was followed by weakening of the power of the monarchy, rise of various parties within the empire,

foreign invasions, rise of independent states and the increasing role of the Marathas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Jats, Bundelas, the Anglo-French rivalry, finally leading to the rise of the English East India Company as a political power in Bengal. But even in its period of decline the eighteenth century has left a very rich legacy of literary and historical works, which serve as authorities for studying the history of the period. These may be grouped in practically the same categories as those of the preceding two centuries. Extracts from important Persian sources have been translated in Elliot and Dowson's monumental series of 'History of India' . . . Since then numerous other sources have been traced out by scholars. These are in different languages, — Persian, Marathi, Hindu, Punjabi (Gurumukhi), Urdu; besides several European languages. Besides the Cambridge History of India, vol. IV, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series (vol. VIII) the standard works of the period by modern authors like Irvine, Jadunath Sarkar, K. K. Dutta, Satish Chandra, Yusuf Husain, V. G. Dighe, N. K. Sinha, H. R. Gupta, Ganda Singh, and others contain valuable detailed bibliographies which may be consulted for details.

Here only the Persian sources are listed in a bare outline. But even this sounds like a roll of guns.

(A) *Official Records*:

The **Akhbarat i darbar i mu'ala** (Mughal court bulletins) virtually end with the deposition of Farrukhsiyar. The Jaipur State records (now in Bikaner) contain **akhbarat, farmans, hasbul hukms, parwanahs,** besides **Vakil** reports and business papers (c. 1707-23).

(B) *Official Histories*:

Bahadurshahnamah, the official history of the first two years of Bahadur Shah's reign, by Danishmand Khan (Nimat Khan 'Ali) covers 1707-9.

(C) *Chronicles*:

(a) *Works written by Muslim authors*:

(i) For the period from Bahadur Shah (1707) to Muhammad Shah (1748) there are besides the **Bahadurshahnamah,**

Jahandarnamah by Nuruddin Faruqi Balkhi,

Jangnamah by Nimat Khan Ali, giving an account of the conflict between Farrukhsiyar and Jahandar, (Tr. by W. Irvine, JASB, 1900).

Tarikh i Farrukhsiyar by Md. Ahsam Ijad, an account of the minority and first four years of the reign of Farrukhsiyar.

Ibratnamah by Md. Harisi Mirza up to deposition of Farrukhsiyar. Ends 1721.

Ibratnamah by Sayyid Md. Qasim Lahori, account of the Timurides up to the fall of the Sayyids 1135/1722-23. Another version is **Ibrat Maqal** up to 3rd year of Muhammad Shah's reign excluding pro-Sayyid portions.

Tarikh i Shahdat i Farrukhsiyar wa Julus i Md. Shahi by Mirza Md. Bakhsh Ashub (foster brother of Md. Shah), wr. 1196/1782 describes the fall of Farrukhsiyar and the reign of Muhammad Shah up to 1747. Giving a detailed account of Persian missions at Delhi with copies of letters between the two courts, it is particularly valuable but the chronology is defective. E&D. viii.

Mirat i Waridat or **Tarikh i Chughtai** by Md. Shafi Warid, a general history up to 1734.

Tazkirat us Salatin i Chaghtaia or **Tarikh i Mughaliyah** by Md. Hadi Kamwar Khan, an account of the Timurids up to 6th year of Md. Shah's reign (1724), referring mostly to official appointments, transfers, etc.

Tazkirat ul Muluk by Yahya Khan, a brief general history up to 1149/1736-37, but very brief for later Mughal rulers (1712-36).

Tarikh i Hind by Rustam Ali (Shahabadi, wr. 1154/1741) up to 1153/1740. E & D. viii.

Ahwal i Khawaqin by Md. Qasim Aurangabadi, history of Aurangzeb's successors up to 1151/1758-9, 2 vols.

Muntakhab ul Lubab by Khafi Khan, 1729.

(ii) For the reigns of Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II there are.

Tarikh i Ahmad Shah, history of the reign of Ahmad Shah, probably by an eye-witness, anonymous (E&D viii).

Tarikh i Alamgir Sani (reign of Alamgir II) also anonymous (E&D viii).

Bayan i Waqai by Khwaja Abdul Karim Kashmiri 1166/1752-3 (E&D viii); Eng. Tr. by Gladwin ('Memoirs of Khojeh

Abdul Karim, Cal., 1788) and by Lt. H. G. Pritchard for Sir Henry Elliot (Ms. in Br. Mus.).

Ibratnamah (Book of Warning, written 1806) by Faqir Khair ud din Muhammad Allahabadi (1751-1827, munshi of James Anderson, Br. Resident at Sindhia's court at Delhi, 1783-4, and later a high officer of Prince Jahandar Shah, s/o Shah Alam II and an eyewitness of the 'chequered career and troubled times' of Shah Alam II (Rieu). Graphic details: valuable from 12th regnal year. E. D. Ross (JRAS 1902) dwells on the life and works of the author.

Shah Alamnamah by Ghulam Ali Khan of Lahore, s/o Bhikari Khan, vol. i (to 1761) printed Bibliotheca Indica, vols. 2 and 3 (mss.).

Waqai Shah Alam Sani (anon. ms. rescued by J. Sarkar in Patna and named **Delhi Chronicle** (during the Anarchy). Contains a diary of events at Delhi and reports (1738-98, with some missing leaves). Sarkar rates it very high and compares it with the old **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle** for 'artless truthfulness, exclusion of emotion or comment and accuracy of record' (Pr. IHRC, vol. 3, 1921); valuable for dates and events.

Tarikh i Ibrahimi by Ibrahim Khan (account of the Marathas) 1201/1786.

Tarikh i Muzaffari by Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari of Panipat, nephew of Shakir Khan (wr. c. 1800; E&D viii).

(iii) The most popular and best known among the contemporary works is **Siyar ul Mutakhkharin** (View of Modern Times), by Ghulam Husain Tabatabai of Patna, wr. 1782. Born in 1727-28 the author, descended from a cultured and educated Sayyid family, went to Murshidabad in 1732-33. He was at Patna with Alivardi from 1733 to 1743-44. He was subsequently employed as tutor to Shaukat Jang, 1749 (at Purnea). After the latter's fall he went to Benares. He regained his influence and took part in political affairs and military campaigns of the time, represented Mir Qasim with the Company in Calcutta and later employed by the latter in different assignments. Living far away in the eastern regions, he derived information from his father and uncles serving in Delhi and so the portions dealing with the Mughals and Oudh are useful. The value of the book lies in the fact that it is a very important general history of India 1707-82 with

a specially detailed account of Bengal and Oudh affairs from 1738. It contains a critical account of the government and policies of the East India Company there. It was translated into English by Raymond, a French convert to Islam (Haji Mustafa) (3 vols., 1789). Another translation is by J. Briggs (one vol. 1832). It was dedicated by 'Nota Manus' to Warren Hastings.

(b) *Works by Hindu writers*:

Tarikh i Muhammad Shahi or **Nadir uz Zamani** by Khushhal Chand (or Rai), munshi in Diwani office, Delhi (1741), mostly a compilation up to 17th year of Md. Shah's reign 1734-6; vol. I covers 1679-1719.

Ibratnamah by Kamraj (s/o Nain Singh). A general account from 1707-19.

Azam ul Harb by Kamraj. An account of Azam's reign (1707).

Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh (or Farah Bakhsh) (history of the Ruhelas) by Shiva Prasad wr. 1190/1775-76 for General Kirkpatrick's brother Capt. Kirpatrick, E&D. viii (not to be confounded with **Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh** of Faizabad).

Shahnama i Munawwar ul Kalam by Shiva Das of Lucknow, wr. 1209/1794 (up to the 4th year of Md. Shah's reign).

Chahar Gulzar i Shujai by Harcharan Das, an officer of Nawab Ali Kh. (of Delhi), wr. 1201/1787 (Sarkar Coll. National Library). Valuable for Shujauddaulah of Oudh.

Maasir i Asafi or Maasir i Nizami by Lachmi Narayan Khattri.

Tarikh i Shah Alam by Munna Lal (wr. 1811), E&D. viii.

D. *Memoirs*:

Nuskha i Dilkusha by Bhimsen Burhanpuri.

Tazkira i Ahwal: Memoirs of Sheikh Ali Hazin (Belfour).

Tazkirah or **Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi** by Iradat Khan (Mirza Mubarak ullah, completed 1126/1714; covers 1703-13. Tr. into English by Jonathan Scott as Memoirs of Eradut Khan, 2 vols., 1794.).

Tahmasnamah, Memoirs of Tahmas Khan (Miskin) Muhakam ud daulah Itiqad Jang, successfully serving Mir Muin ul

Mulk, Mughlani Begam, Zain Khan of Sirhind, and Zabita Khan Ruhela (wr. 1780). (E&D viii).

Tazkirah i Shakir Khan, s/o Amir Shamsuddaulah Lutfullah Kh. B. Sadiq (of Panipat), governor of Delhi at the time of Nadir's invasion (1179/1765). (J. Sarkar Colln. Nat. Lib.).

Tazkirah i Anandram (Mukhlis), E&D viii. Ends. 1748. Author was s/o Raja Hirde Ram Khatri of Lahore. Writer and poet, he was appointed wakil for Qamaruddin Khan and also for Abdus Samad Khan.

Tazkirah i Imad ul Mulk dealing with the Empire (1754-58).

E. *Biographical works*:

It is sometimes difficult to draw a hard and fast line of distinction between the chronicles and biographical literature of the period, the former dealing with the life and work of some prominent personality. Thus the histories dealing with the Emperors like Bahadur Shah, Azam, Jahandar, Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II, Shah Alam II may also be regarded as constituting biographical works, and need not be repeated here.

There are two standard biographical dictionaries of the eighteenth century : (i) **Maasir ul Umara** (Lives of Mughal perrs) by Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, and (ii) **Tazkirat ul Umara** by Kewal Ram, already mentioned earlier.

Besides these there are lives of poets etc. '(i) **Khazanah i Amira** by Ghulam Ali Azam (Bilgrami), wr. 1763 (information about Emperors Alamgir II, Shah Alam II, Safdar Jang, Imad and Marathas) repeated in his **Sarv i Azad ;** (ii) **Safinah i Khushgu.**

For Nadir Shah, we have **Tarikh i Jahankusha i Nadiri** by Mirza Mahdi Ali Khan, Secretary of Nadir Shah (wr. 1758); Memoirs of Shaikh Ali Hazin (Belfour); Tazkirah of Anandram ; Delhi Chronicle ; Muhsin b. at Hanif Siddiqi Bijnori, Jauhar i Samsam (E & D. viii); and other works.

For Ahmad Shah Abdali, there are **Bayan i Waqai** by Abdul Karim Kashmiri (1752-3) ; **Mujmil ut Tawarikh pas az Nadir** by Abul Hasan Ibn Muhammad Amin Gulistani wr. 1782 (ed. by O. Mann, 1896 ; partial translation by J. Sarkar, in Modern Review, vol. 5, 1929); Author's uncle was in service of Nadir Shah.

Imad us Saadat by Ghulam Ali.

Halat i Amdan i Ahmad Shah Durrani das Hindustan dar, 1169 A.H. by Shaikh Ghulam Husain (Samin) (present during fourth invasion). Eng. tr. by Irvine (Ind. Ant. 1907).

Jang Namah by Qazi Nur Muhammad (invasion, 1764-65), Ed. and Eng. tr. by Ganda Singh.

Ahwal i Jang i Bhau wa Ahmad Shah Durrani by Kashi Raj Pandit (1780); Eng. Tr. by James Browne 1791 (Asiatic Researches, vol. iii, 1799) defective ; reprinted by Oxford University Press 1926 by H. Rawlinson. Account of last battle of Panipat, by Jadunath Sarkar, IHQ, 1934.

Tarikh i Husain Shahi (or **Tarikh i Ahmad Shah Durrani ;** 1213/1798) by Imam ud din al Husaini (Durrani history).

For Nizam ul Mulk the section on Regional Histories may be seen.

F. *Statistical, Topographical or Descriptive Accounts*:

Muntakhab ut Tawarikh by Jagjivan Das (wr. 1708), giving useful statistics of all provinces in 1707.

Khulasat ut Tawarikh by Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala (1695) and **Chahar Gulshan** or **Akhbar un Nawadir** by Chatarman Rai (1759) serving under Wazir Imad ul Mulk supply useful statistical and biographical data (both partially translated by Jadunath Sarkar in **India of Aurangzib,** (1901).

Waqai Sarkar Ranthambhor wa Ajmer.

Tarikh i Lahore by Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal (in Urdu).

Manazil ul futuh by Md. Jafar Shamlu, accompanying Ahmad Abdali to India,—an account of different stages from Quandahar,—Ghazni, Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi and battle of Panipat (E&D viii).

Chahar Chaman by Daulat Rai, 1820.

Ibratnamah by Mufti Aliuddin of Lahore, 1854.

G. *Letters*:

Correspondence constitutes a very valuable and reliable source of history, giving the actual history without any proneness to flattery or eulogy.

Letters of Abdullah Khan : (a) **Ajaib ul Afaq,** mostly relating to 1712 ; (b) **Balmumkund namah,** written on his behalf by his munshi Mehta Balmukund (Pat. Univ. Ms.), dealing mainly with

1719-20. Translated and edited by Satish Chandra, text by Abdur Rashid, Aligarh Muslim University, 1972, as Letters of a King-maker of the 18th century.

Khujistah Kalam letters of Md. Khan Bangash ed. by Sahib Rai. Valuable for military affairs.

Insha i Gharib by Lala Ujagar Chand Ulfat.

Insha i Madho Ram ed. by Madho Ram.

Khatut i Shivaji : contains three letters of Shahu to Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I.

Siyasi Muktubat by Shah Waliullah.

There are two epistolary compilations valuable for history of Bengal and Bihar during mid-18th century. (i) **Dastur ul Insha** compiled by Munshi Vijayram (Lucknow, 1769) containing letters of Rajah Ramnarain to the Nawab and his officers and also of his brother Rajah Dhiraj Narain, (ii) **Dastur ul Insha,** compiled by Munshi Shaikh Yar Muhammad Qalandar (c. 1757).

Two historical letters by Asaf Jah I. Text and Tr. by Jadunath Sarkar, in Islamic Culture, 1941.

Letters of Nizam ul Mulk to Muhammad Shah (after defeating Mubariz). Tr. by W. Irvine, in Asiatic Miscellany, 1885.

Murasalat i Ahmad Shah Durrani. Correspondence between Ahmad Abdali, Emperor Shah Alam II, Ruhela Afghans and Rajput rulers, 1173-76/1759-62.

H. *Regional Histories*:

With the rise of independent states we have several regional accounts.

(i) The Punjab and the Sikhs :

The general sources for the Mughal empire also yield materials for the Punjab. There are excellent bibliographies in Irvine **(Later Mughals),** N. K. Sinha **(The Rise of Sikh Power),** H. R. Gupta **(History of the Sikhs, Studies in Later History of the Punjab),** Khuswant Singh **(History of the Sikhs)** and Ganda singh **(Banda Bahadur, Ahmad Shah Durrani).** Special mention may be made of the following :

Ahwal i Adina Beg Khan, attributed to a contemporary Sodhi (Guru) of Kartarpur.

Haqiqat i Bina O Uruj i Firqa i Sikhan wrongly attributed to Timur Shah, s/o Abdali (Ganda Singh). Tr. by I. Banerjee, IHQ, 1942.

Jang Namah by Qazi Nur Muhammad, wr. 1765. Ed. and tr by Ganda Singh, 1939.

Khalsa Namah by Diwan Bakht Mal, 1225-29/1810-14.

Tarikh i Punjab by Ahmad Shah of Batala, 1820.

Tarikh i Sikhan by Khuswaqt Rai (till 1811), agent and intelligencer of E.I.C. at Amritsar, written for Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Umdat ut Tawarikh by Sohan Lal Suri, vols. 1 and 2 (1812). The author was the chronicler of Ranjit Singh : earlier part based on records of his own father serving Ranjit's father and grandfather.

... **Zafar Namah i Muin ul Mulk** by Ghulam Muhiuddin, 1162/1749.

The Gurumukhi and Marathi sources (SPD. vols. 2, 6, 21, 25, 27, 29, 38, 39; 40; 45 : Rajwade vols. 1 and 6) and English sources may be seen.

(ii) Oudh and the Rohillas :

One may profitably consult the bibliographies in A. L. Srivastava's **First Two Nawabs of Awadh** and **Shuja ud Daulah** besides the general sources on the Mughal empire. Special mention may be made of :

Imad us Saadat by Sayyid (Mir) Ghulam Ali Khan Naqvi wr. c. 1807 (mostly Oudh and Bengal history, Maratha, Abdali and Shuja ud daulah).

Ahwal i Najib ud daulah by Sayyid Nuruddin Hasan, serving Wazir Ghazi ud din Imad ul Mulk, wr. c. 1773. Eng. Tr. by J. Sarkar, IHQ and Isl. Culture, 1933-34.

Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh, already mentioned, throws light on the Rohillas.

Gulistan i Rahmat by Mustajab Khan (1792) Eng. tr. by Sir C. Elliot, Life of . . . Hafiz Rahmat Khan (1831) E&D viii.

(iii) Bengal, Bihar and Orissa :

Riyaz us Salatin by Ghulam Husain Salim, wr. 1788. Eng. tr. by M. Abdus Salam.

Tarikh i Bangalah by Salimhllah, wr. 1763, tr. by Gladwin.

Ahwal i Mahabat Jang by Yusuf Ali, wr. c. 1767. Ed. by Abdus Subhan (Bib. Ind.).

Waqai Fath Bangalah.

Muzaffarnamah by Karam Ali, wr. 1772 (Eng. tr. by J. Sarkar, BPP, and Bengal Nawabs).

The Bibliographies in J. Sarkar, History of Bengal (vol. 2), Abdul Karim, Murshid Quli Khan and His Times and K. K. Datta, Alivardi and His Times, may be consulted for details.

(iv) Gujrat and Malwa :

Mirat i Ahmadi by Md. Ali Khan, ends 1761. There is an excellent bibliography in Raghubir Sinh, **Malwa in Transition.**

(v) Hyderabad :

For the career of Nizam ul Mulk before 1724 sources given in Irvine, Later Mughals, and J. Sarkar in CHI, IV, may be consulted with profit. Thereafter we have three writers in Nizam's service, Khafi Khan, Ghulam Ali Azad **(Khazana i Amira)** and Shah Nawaz Khan **(Maasir ul Umara).** Besides there are :

Maasir i Asafi or **Maasir i Nizami** by Lachmi Narayan Khattri, a hereditary revenue official (wr. 1792-3).

Hadiqat ul 'Alam (vol. 2) (best Persian source) by Mir Abul Qasim Mir Alam (minister) ends 1739 : completed 1802.

The Marathi sources (e.g. newsletters from the court, despatches of officers, reports of Peshwa's agents) yield new information regarding the activities and the compaigns of the Nizam. There are several mss. in Asafiya Library and **Daftar i Diwani,** Hyderabad, listed by Yusuf Husain in his book **The First Nizam :**[52]

CHAPTER IV

IDEALS, METHODOLOGY AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF MEDIEVAL INDO-MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHERS

Section 1: Medieval Indo-Muslim Historians' Conception of History

Is it possible to deduce certain basic principles or ideas of history from the above mentioned works ? What was the conception of history of these medieval historians writing in Persian ?

Needless to say, we cannot reasonably expect to find modern ideas of history in them. Any attempt to judge these histories with the yardstick of modern historiography is bound to lead to disappointment and perhaps, unreasonable criticism, as by Peter Hardy.[1] Brilliant in analysis, exposition and expression, his work is somewhat unsumpathetic in conclusions. Here he has scathingly condemned the Indo-Muslim historians of the Turko-Afghan period and criticized the standpoint of some distinguished modern Indian writers of this period for depending on them as sources. While there is great deal of force in what he says about them, absolutely speaking, it must be admitted that some of their characteristics and defects, pointed out by him, were also to be found in Christian and medieval historiography of contemporary Europe.

(a) *Universal History*:

In Europe Christian writers familiarised the idea of universal history, going back to the origin of man, dealing with the rise and fall of civilizations and powers and adopting a single chronological framework for all historical events. The medieval historian also treated his material from a universalistic point of view.[2]

The idea of Universal History since the creation was quite well known to the Arabic and Muslim historiographers. But about the middle of the third century A.H. (9th century A.D.)

it was used as a prelude to Islamic history proper, a concept which goes back to Jewish-Christian tradition. Hence universal history ceased to be world history in the truest sense as 'from the moment of the rise of Islam, the history of other nations has no farther interest for the writer.'[3]

(b) *The General History of the Muslim World*:

The General History of the Muslim World flowered between the 9th and 11th centuries A.D. in the works of al-Yaqubi, al-Dinawari and al-Tabari, covering the period from pre-Islamic times (in Arabia, Persia and Rum) to the Abbasid Caliphate, the central theme being the Prophet. While Yaqubi and Tabari followed the chronological method, Dinawari adopted the topical method (i.e. according to 'akhbar' or groups of events). Their range of evidence was wide and approach critical.

One of the categories of medieval Indian historical writings was a general history of the Muslim world. The general histories of Islam written during the Turko-Afghan period by Minhaj ud din us Siraj (**Tabaqat i Nasiri,** 1259-60) and Muhammad Bihamand Khani **(Tarikh i Muhammadi,** 1438-39) were in line with al-Yaqubi al Dinawari, and al Tabari. But they wrote from authority without critical evaluation.

To this category in the Mughal age belonged **Tarikh-i-Ibrahimi** or **Tawarikh-i-Humayuni** or **Tarikh-i-Humayun** by Ibrahim bin Hariri (c. 1528). It is a general history of the world since the creation and comes up to the reign of Humayun (but incomplete). The **Lubb ut Tawarikh** (wr. 1541) by Yahya bin Abdul Latif and **Nuskha i Jahanara** by Qazi Ahmad (d. 1567) are also general histories of the Muslim world. Much more famous is Abdul Qadir Badauni's **Muntakhab ut Tawarikh,** a general history of the Muslim world from the time of the Ghaznawides up to 1596.[4]

(c) *General histories of India*:

Apart from the conception of the general history of the Muslim world, there was also the conception of regional or local dynastic history developing gradually among the medieval Muslim historians. H. A. R. Gibb writes :

"After the middle of the fourth century (10th century A.D.) the distinction between general history and provincial history becomes difficult to maintain. Henceforward the main type of strictly historical composition is contemporary annalistic, frequently prefaced by summary of universal history. In such annals the interest and information of the writer can no longer be universal; each is limited by the boundaries of the political structure within which he lives, and is rarely able to deal with events in distant regions. . ."

Thus we have, as distinct from the general history of the Moslem world, several regional and dynastic histories of Islam. For example. Gardizi (**Zain al Akhbar)** dealt mainly with Khorasan in the period before the Ghorid conquests in N. India. Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi (**Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi,** between 1428-34) supplies the only example of this type in the Turko Afghan period in India.[5]

In Mughal India the two best and definite examples of the new tradition growing up are the works of Nizam ud din Ahmad and Ferishta. (i) **Tabaqat i Akbari** by Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi is a general history of Muslim India which becomes fuller as it approaches the Mughal period and (ii) **Tarikh i Ferishta** by Mulla Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah surnamed Ferishta (wr. 1599-1609) is a general history of Muslim India, with special reference to the states of the Deccan. It was written in Bijapur and styled **Gulshan i Ibrahimi** and **Nauras-nama** (from Nauras, new capital of Ibrahim Adil Shah, who suggested that there was no general history of Muhammadans in India except that of Nizamuddin.[6]

Muhammad Hashim or Hashim Ali Khan, better known as Khafi Khan, wrote his **Muntakhab ul Lubab** or **Tarikh i Khafi Khan,** a complete history of the House of Timur, from Babur (1519) to the 14th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah (1733). Its chief value lay in the fact that it gives a full account of the reign of Aurangzeb of which a connected history was difficult to get on account of the imperial prohibition of history-writing.[7]

(d) *Regional or Local Histories:*

Apart from the history of Islam, and universal histories the Muslim writers also wrote on sectional works, including sects,

regions and towns. The earliest example of regional history in Muhammadan annals in India is the historical romance of the **Chachnama** in Sind (12th century A.D.).[8] According to H.A.R. Gibb, Sind had 'an indigenous tradition going back to the period of the Arab conquest' of the 8th century A.D.[9] Several histories relating to Sind were written during the Mughal period. Gibb also holds that 'in Gujrat and the South the local historiography is apparently to be connected rather with that of Fars.'[10] Gujarat, as mentioned earlier, is the richest province in India as regards the number and variety of its historical records. One such is the **Mirat-i-Ahmadi** by Mirza Muhammad Hasan, better known as Ali Muhammad Khan, written during 1750-60, a history of Gujrat (1000-1760). About its value Sir J. N. Sarkar writes as follows : 'From the reign of Akbar onwards, his book is unique among the Persian histories of India, as the author has incorporated in it the full texts of a very large number of official letters and orders of the Imperial Government, e.g., **farmans, parwanahs,** and **dastur ul amls.** Thus the best raw materials of social and administrative history have been preserved by him for us. This is specially the case with Aurangzeb's strenuously active reign of half a century. For the half century following the death of Aurangzeb (1707), the **Mirat** gives the fullest history of the civil wars among the Mughal generals, the Maratha incursions, and the natural calamities and popular disorders which attended the fall of the Mughal empire in that province. In fact we have no such complete, graphic and systematic record of that decline and fall in any of our provinces. . . .'[11]

Bengal, as noted before, is without any 'continuous history' in Persian before the end of the eighteenth century. There are, however, a few histories dealing with Bengal and Assam covering limited periods only : **Baharistan-i-Ghaibi** of Mirza Nathan (entitled Shitab Khan)[12] ; **Fathiyya-i-ibriyya,** the diary of Shihabuddin Talish[13] ; and its **Continuation** by the same author.[14]

For the history of the Deccan kingdoms also there were separate histories, as detailed in the previous chapter. The **Basatin us Salatin** by Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi (1824) is a history of Bijapur, which is "valuable and accurate in spite of its being a later compilation."[15]

H. A. R. Gibb has given an unfavourable view of the historical works of this period in Persia and India, criticising them as monotonous and lacking in originality and proportion. He writes: 'A general view of the historical output of this period in Persia and India thus offers a monotonous succession of general histories and local or dynastic chronicles, with periods of more intensive quasi-biographical compilation, usually stimulated by royal patrons and sometimes of considerable value, but marked by an inveterate tendency to treat history as a branch of **belles lettres'.**

'The majority of the general histories, whether composed in Persia or in India, show little originality or proportion, and are of value only for the history of their own times. The most frequent arrangement is by dynasties; some, however, devote a volume or a section to biography and occasionally a geographical supplement is added.'[16]

It is difficult to wholly agree with this view so far as India at least is concerned. In the first place, the instances he gives are not quite typical or representative of the best historical works produced in India during this period. In the second place, there were certainly other categories of historical writings to which no reference has been made by him.

Section 2: The Performance

To understand the ideals and achievements of the medieval Muslim historians of India we have to take into account several factors, among which may be mentioned the nature of history, the general attitude of the medieval historians, the influence of the author's personal history, his methodology, technique and style, and the extent of his success in fulfilling the mission of the historian. But we should not, like H. A. R. Gibb and Peter Hardy, judge the medieval histories with modern standards.

(a) *The nature of history*:

History, admittedly, has a double aspect. It is both a science and an art. So the historian has to be both a scientist and artist. History the science is 'impartial, almost unhuman in its cold impartiality, weighing documents, accumulating evidence, sorting

out the false wherever detected no matter what venerable belief goes with it, it is piecing together with infinite care the broken mosaic of the past—not to teach us lessons nor to entertain, but simply to fulfil the imperative demand of the scientific spirit—to find the truth and set it forth'. Again, 'History the art, flourishes with the arts. It is mainly the creature of imagination and literary style. It depends upon expression, upon vivid painting, sympathy, grace and elegance, elevated sentiments or compelling power.'[17]

Herodotus combined 'geography and history, narrative with criticism and literature' and so 'won for history a distinct place in the arts and sciences of mankind for all time.' About the mastery of the material and mental power of Thucydides 'the greatest historian of antiquity', it has been said: 'Never has a historian succeeded better in creating the impression of complete mastery of his materials—a century of hair-splitting criticism has not appreciably impaired his reputation for amazing accuracy. Equally characteristic of Thucydides is his high impartiality: he favours neither side in the great war; he shows good and bad qualities in both Athenians and Spartans . . . he champions none of the rival parties in Athens . . . In no place does he argue or defend; yet by sheer intellectual power he imposes his views upon the reader . . . The history might perhaps be compared to a Greek statue, stately and serious, restrained and sober, accurate in detail and impressive in composition, yet lacking the vivid colouring and varied background of a modern painting or of Herodotus' history . . .' (Swain). Polybius was 'the historian's historian of antiquity', essentially pragmatic and utilitarian in his conception of history,—a practical politician. He prescribes two qualifications as indispensable for the historian—to be a man of affairs, of wide knowledge of the world; learning and judicial temper. Livy was the national historian of Rome but was frankly medieval and uncritical. While Thucydides was a magistrate in the tribunal of history, Tacitus was an advocate of Rome. While Thucydides sought to establish truth alone, Tacitus sought to maintain that truth which would be of service to the world. Tacitus was a mere annalist. But he ranks in the forefront of the world's historians because of his genius as a word painter, his insight into character and to his exalted idea of history, viz. 'history's highest function (is) to let no worthy action be uncom-

memorated, and to hold the reprobation of posterity as a terror to evil words and deeds', and this is to be done without bitterness or favour. To Kalhana also History was a science as well as an art,—scientific in method and artistic in presentation. His ideal of history was a vivid representation of the past with its great role as an instructor for future generation.[18]

(b) *The attitudes of medieval historians:*

The medieval historians had fairly high ideas of impartiality, independence and accuracy. The early Arab historians showed great independence by not depending on Greek literature, Syriac or Persian histories. They were very rarely official historians who recorded 'His master's voice'. Tabari was a landed proprietor of wide travels. Both Dinawari and Tanukhi were judges. The second Buwaihid Sultan. Adud al daulah, Izzal daulah Bakhtiyar could not restrain his anger when his Secretary of State, Ibrahim the Sabian, authorised to write a history, frankly said that he was 'compiling packs of lies'. Generally speaking, the Arab historians wrote not as court chroniclers but as persons with noble tastes, for the instruction of their countrymen and though they at times are influenced by religious or patriotic bias. 'their general impartiality is a striking feature of their works.' Miskawaihi, though an employee of the Buwaihid wazirs, never showed any trace of partiality. The work of Tabari (more a collector of traditions than an historian) is also non-partisan. History writing, like education, was left to private enterprise till the time of the Seljuk Wazir, Nizam ul Mulk. Historians were 'professors of history', undertaking to provide information, on the subject, not persons specially engaged to provide it . . . they were primarily teachers, and writers afterwards.[19]

(c) *Influence of the author's personal history—*
The Personal factor.

The author's personal history (e.g. his family background, training, education, equipment, official connections, character, idiosyncracies and temperament) usually exercises a great influence on his outlook and the nature of his performance. It affects his attitude to history and helps us to understand his ideas, attitude and outlook, and to know whether he is a detached or interested observer.[20]

(d) *Social status and class of the medieval historians*:

It is rather difficult to group the medieval Muslim historians according to social status and class. For one thing our knowledge of the personal history of many historians is very limited, and secondly because the social organisation of the times is also imperfectly known. Both Ashraf and Moreland have spoken of the upper, middle and lower classes. But the exact connotation of these is not specifically known. The difficulty arises especially in the Turko-Afghan period. Ashraf has referred to certain social classes among the Muslims but how to place our historians among them is not very clear. Career in the court or army was the passport to social status, but to say that an historian belonged to the courtier class meant nothing in effect. Many rose to be courtiers and officers from comparatively obscure origins and they cannot very well be regarded as belonging to the aristocratic or upper classes. Some historians, however, were highly educated and belonged to what may be called the intellectual class and middle class. Among historians and memoir-writers who may be grouped under royal family were Firuz Tughluq. Timur, Babur, Jahangir, Gulbadan Begum and Mirza Haidar Dughlat. Among aristocratic class we may perhaps include Minhajuddin and Amir Khusru. The **Maasir ul Umara** has given notices of Abul Fazl, Md. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Khwajah Nizamuddin and Md. Hashim Ali Khan (Khafi Khan), among others and from that we may be tempted to include them among the peerage. But perhaps, socially speaking, the majority of the historians of the Mughal age were members of the educated, middle class intelligentsia and not members of the aristocracy as such. Most of the medieval historians or writers were either immigrants themselves e.g., Al Biruni (from Khwarizm), Hasan Nizami (from Naishapur), or descendants of foreign immigrant families, e.g. Minhaj (from Juzjan, between Merv and Balkh), Shaikh Abul Fazl (Hijazi family), Khwajah Nizamuddin (Herat family), Mirza Aminai Qazvini (Qazvin), Ferishta (from Astarabad), Mirza Md. Hasan (Persian emigrant family), Khafi Khan (Khursani emigrant family). Many were definitely of Indian origin i.e., Hindusthanis, e.g., Ziauddin Barani, Amir Khusrau, Yahya, Abdul Qadir Badauni and Abdul Hamid Lahori, Jauhar, Humayun's aftabchi, was a menial, who rose to be an officer.[21]

(e) *Methodology, technique and style—*
History the Science and History the Art.

The writing of history involves two principal operations,—to establish facts and to work them up. This is a complicated process. Facts are not necessarily events, are not always given, but have to be selected and established by patient research. Seclection seems to run counter to the principle of impartial or honest history. But all history is selective. Selection is scientific. The task of the historian consists of several process e.g. : (i) Search for and discovery of necessary documents, (ii) Criticism and sifting of these, (iii) explanation, (iv) correlation, (v) reciprocal relations of facts and (vi) their interaction.[22]

The Arab historians adopted certain methods to ensure accuracy in their narratives viz., dating events and maintaining the chain of authorities. (isnad).

(i) *Chronology*:

Time is the corner-stone of history, space of geography and matter of the physical sciences. Without chronology the data of history becomes like an uncharted land or unanalysed substance. Hence adherence to a detailed and accurate chronology is most essential to understanding history. To ensure accuracy in their narratives the Arabic historians (within 150 years A.H.) used to insist on dating events by the year and month and even the day. This speaks volubly of their historical sense when we consider that 'neither the Greek nor the Roman historians nor the Biblical writers keep quite clear dates and the Roman historians have a fixed era which is less clumsy than the Greek system.' According to Buckle, the practice of dating events did not start in Europe before A.D. 1597. The standards of accuracy and conscientiousness of Arabic historiography were thus, 'astoundingly high.'[23]

In this respect the Indo-Moslem historians excelled the Hindus. The Ahom and Maratha chroniclers lacked sound chronological arrangement. Their narration was devoid of chronology. Their idea of a historian's work was to narrate legends and facts compiled from traditions, hearsay and state papers, without any attempt at ascertaining the date of any event. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes : "The chronological sense was very imperfectly

developed among the Hindus, who are apt to despise this world and its ephemeral occurrences. Before the Islamic conquest the Hindus produced no true history at all. On the other hand the Arab intellect is dry, methodical and matter of fact. All their records contain a chronological framework. The historical literature of the Muhammadans in all countries has been vast. and varied and well furnished with dates. We therein get a solid basis for historical study.'[24]

Within this general observation there are, however, certain exceptions.

In the Mughal period chronology received its due share of importance from the official histories. 'In all these works or **Namahs** proper, the events are built upon a rigid skeleton of dates chronologically arranged; there is an accurate but tiresome assemblage of minute names of persons and places in the course of every month's narrative of occurrences, and the mechanical division of the book into a chapter for each regnal year is followed.' Non-official histories, however, were sometimes deficient in dates. The chronology of Nizamuddin is defective especially from the 22nd year (1578), when the author made a blunder in equating the regnal with the Hegira years (Smith). The chronology of Badauni is less precise than that of the **Akbarnamah.**[25]

(ii) *Verification of the Chain of authorities*:

The second device of the Arab historians to develop exactitude was to trace the event to its ultimate source. By applying the stereotyped technique of 'isnad', as used in 'hadis' (Tradition), to History, each event was narrated in the words of the original eye-witnesses or contemporaries and transmitted through a chain of mediate reporters to the final narrator (the author). Thus the links in the chain of authorities were tested. The weakness of the system was that the fact itself was not critically examined. As P. K. Hitti puts it: "But the authenticity of the fact generally depended on the continuity of the chain ('isnad') and the confidence in the integrity of each reporter rather upon a critical examination of the fact itself. Aside from the use of personal judgment in the choice of the series of authorities and the arrangement of the data the historian exer-

cised very little power of analysis, criticism, comparison or inference. Al Tabari gives expression to this principle in the introduction to his **Ta'rikh** 'We only transmit to others as has been transmitted to us'."[26]

It is in this background and judged by these tests that we shall examine the ideals and achievements, technique and style of the medieval Indo-Moslem historians.

(f) *Extent of the historian's success in the fulfilment of his mission*

How far were the historians of medieval India successful in realising their own professed ideals. Let us confine our attention to a few selected writers.

Kalhana possessed 'a highly developed, almost modern, conception of the proper data or sources of history'. With a detached and critical mind, and conscious of the mission of a historian he endeavoured hard to attain the noble ideals of truth and impartiality comparable to that of a judge, of keeping his speech or writing 'beyond love or hatred', of insight and imagination, making the pictures of a bygone age vivid before one's eyes.[27]

The position with regard to the Muslim historians during the Sultanate and Mughal periods will be discussed in the following two sections.

Section 3: Pre-Mughal Period

Let us consider the influence of the personal history of the writer on the history he wrote in certain representative instances only.

1. *Al Biruni*

We do not know much about the personal history of Abu Raihan Muhammad bin Ahmad Al Biruni al Khwarizmi, known in Europe as Ali Boron (born A.D. 970-1 ; died 1038-39). He was essentially an intellectual of intellectuals. This famous encyclopaedic scholar, well-versed in philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, logic, theology and religion, is

justly regarded as the first and greatest Muslim Indologist. What is the basis of his interest in India and Hindu Sciences ? Was it due to his love of scholarship or anything else ?

His earliest biographer, Shamsuddin Muhammad Shahrazuri, testifies to his studious habits and asks us to believe that he left his book and pen only on two days in the year, the Nauroz, New Year's day at the vernal equinox, and the Mihrjan, the autumnal equinox, "when he was occupied, according to the command of the Prophet, in procuring the necessaries of life on such a moderate scale as to afford him bare sustenance and clothing." It is not clear whether this is a hint at his indigent conditions during his student life. But we know that having distinguished himself in science and literature he rose to be the councillor of the Khwarizm ruler of the M'amuni family. In that capacity he became an antagonist of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and his chancellor, Ahmad ibn Hassan Maimandi (1007-25), because the Sultan wanted to interfere in the affairs of independent Khwarizm. Subsequently after the conquest of Khwarizm by Sultan Mahmud, he was carried as a hostage to Ghazna along with other hostages and prisoners of war (1017). He travelled extensively in India in the train of Mahmud and studied the language, sciences and philosophy of the Hindus extensively and embodied his observations on the religious condition and social institutions of the Hindus in his times (1017-30). But he received neither any official encouragement or inducement nor any hope of reward from Sultan Mahmud. According to Rashiduddin, Al Biruni 'entered the service of Mahmud bin Sabuktigin, and in the course of his service he spent a long time in Hindustan and learned the language of the country.'[28] But Sachau mentions that "there is nothing to tell us that Alberuni was ever in the service of the State or Court in Ghazna", and that 'perhaps' it was due to his 'reputation as a great munajjim i.e., astrologer—astronomer' that he 'had relations to the Court and its head'. The way in which he mentions Sultan Mahmud does not tend to show that he was in the latter's service or that he regarded the latter as his benefactor. 'Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus, became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people.'[29]

On the other hand Al Biruni spoke very highly of Sultan Masud and dedicated his **Canon Masudicus (Alkanun Al Masudi)** to him because by conferring on him a special benefit (pension?), Masud enabled the author (then 61 years old) to devote himself to the pursuit of Science. So he exultingly wrote of the favours shown and support given to him and his studies by Masud. This would show that even a man of the type of Al Biruni was swayed by personal considerations in his outlook.

Al Biruni's interest in India, the Hindus and their world of thought was largely motivated by what Dr. Sachau calls 'a community of mishap'. This may be an exaggeration. But there is no doubt that Al Biruni and his native countrymen were as much the victim of Mahmud's oppression as the Hindus of India and this might have inspired Al Biruni with sympathy for them. If to Mahmud the Hindus were infidels fit to be slain for resisting plunder, to Al Biruni they were 'excellent philosophers, good mathematicians and astronomers. . .' He also throws a 'hint to the Muslim reader not to be too haughty towards the poor bewildered Hindu, trodden down by the savage hordes of King Mahmud. . .'[30]

The idea of writing his book on India suggested itself to Al Biruni during his discussion with a friend on contemporary religious and philosophical literature. He wrote it to fill up a gap in the then Arab literature which contained only 'second hand and thoroughly uncritical account of the beliefs of the Hindus.'

2. *Al 'Utbi*

Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammal al Jabbarul 'Utbi, belonged to the family of 'Utba. Many members of the family were important office-holders under the Samanid rulers. Being Secretary of Sultan Mahmud himself, 'Utbi became thoroughly acquainted with his activities, but he did not accompany his master in his expeditions. His book **Tarikh Yamini** or **Kitab ul Yamini** which covers the whole reign of Sabuktigin and a part of the reign of Mahmud (up to 1020 A.D.), is an original source of information of Mahmud's expeditions. But as he did not accompany him it is deficient in accurate topographical knowledge of India. His attitude is that of an orthodox writer who

sees the order of God in the actions of Sabuktigin and Mahmud: e.g., 'often times a small army overcomes a large one by the order of God'; 'The friends of God advancing against the masters of lies and idolatry . . .'; 'friends of God committed slaughter in every hill and valley'; 'God bestows honour on his own religion and degrades infidelity', etc.[31]

3. *Al Baihaqi*

Khwaja Abul Fazl bin al Hasan al Baihaqi (c. 996-1077 A.D.) wrote 'a comprehensive history' of the Ghaznavides in thirty volumes—**Tarikh i Baihaqi** or **Mujalladat-i-Baihaqi,** its various component volumes being severally known as **Tarikh us Sabuktigin** or **Tarikh i Ali-i-Sabuktigin** or **Tarikh-i-Nasiri ; Taj ul Futuh** (for Mahmud) ; **Tarikh-i-Masudi** (for Masud) etc.

Baihaqi was closely associated with the Court and the aristocratic classes of his age. He constantly alludes not only to himself, his own intimacies, actions and experiences, but also gives a graphic account of many contemporary nobles as well as the pursuits and habits of the emperor Masud bin Mahmud ; viz., 'his dictations to his secretaries ; his addiction to wine ; and his repentance on the occasion of one of his visits to Hindustan, when he forswore liquor and threw the wine and drinking vessels into the river Jailam ; which strongly reminds us of a later but identical freak of Babar's.' It is detailed, verbose and hence tedious. It is more a gossiping memoir than an elaborate history. But it is also highly original. Its chief merit lies in the minute details which throw light on the contemporary age,—court life, manner of conducting business including the nature of the agenda of the Council at Ghazni and the administrative personnel. The appellation 'an Oriental Mr. Pepy's applied to him is not inapt.[32]

4. *Hasan Nizami*

We do not know much about Hasan Nizami, the author of **Taj ul Maasir** (Crown of Exploits) except from his own references therein. He describes himself as 'Hasan Nizami, the slave and the son of the slave', and names as his patrons 'Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Bin Sam Bin Hussain' (i.e., Md. Ghuri)

and 'Qutbuddunya Waddin Abul Haris Aibak'. Born at Naishapur, Hasan Nizami is also known as Sadrudin Muhammad bin Hasan Nizami. According to Prof. Askari, his father was most probably Abul Hasan Nizami Aruzi of Samarqand.[33] Though Lahore was neither his birth place nor chief residence he is associated with this city by Hammer. He had to leave his native place and come via Ghazni to Delhi on account of the political distractions in Khorasan, where merit was neither appreciated nor rewarded. He wrote with a deep sense of frustration. This immigrant Khorasani came to be fairly well connected with high social circles. From his connections and acquaintances (the Sufi Md. Shirazi and Chief Justice Majdul Mulk of Ghazni, Chief Justice Sharf ul mulk of Delhi) it may be inferred that Hasan Nizami was not only a very learned man, among other intellectuals, but also stood fairly high in the social ladder. He began (602/1205) this work in Persian not so much at the request of his friends at Delhi (where knowledge of Arabic was evidently at a discount) as in obelience to the royal mandate to detail the events of the conquering dynasty (name of ruler not given). It deals with his patrons,—partly with Muhammad Ghuri (from 1191 A.D.) but mainly with the history of Qutbuddin Aibak and Iltutmish. The author makes a parade of his learning at every step by using a florid and verbose style, in prose and verse, metaphors, similies, etc. But he does not give evidence of his being a witness or a participator in the exploits of the rulers. 'Beyond the praise which the author bestows upon his heroes, there is nothing to indicate that he was contemporary with the events which he describes, and the absence of all particulars, as well as a certain confusion and indistinctness about some of the dates, show that he was no active participator in any of his patrons' campaigns. It is singularly strange that he says nothing of the transactions of Qutbuddin's actual reign, for the same short chapter records his accession and his death.'[34] Hasan Nizami was a panegyrist, like many other historians and suffered from prejudices. He slurs over Muhammad Ghuri's defeat at the first battle of Tarain but refers to restoration of lost prestige at the second. However, he hints at the virtual defeat of the Ghurid ruler by Bhimdeva II of Anhilwara earlier. 'Hasan Nizami would have us believe that the early Muslim conquerors were good Muslims and religious zealots whose primary aims and

motives in their wars and conquests, government and administration were religious rather than political or economical, and that in all the cities and places they conquered, hardly any idol temple or religious sanctuary was left intact and was not converted into Muslim institutions.' (as at Ajmer f.48a).[35]

5. *Minhaj ud din us Siraj*

Minhajuddin us Siraj of Juzjan (between Merv and Balkh) belonged to the aristocratic class by birth and marriage. He had a distinguished ancestry. His family had long been in the service of the house of Ghur. His great-great grandfather, Imam Abdul Khalik of Juzjan married the daughter of Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni. His father was Qazi of the army of Hindustan under Muhammad Ghuri (1186). Minhaj himself was a learned man and an educationist. He was appointed head of the Firozi College of Uch (1227), 'law officer and director of the preaching and of all religious, moral and judicial affairs' (1232), Qazi of Delhi (1241), Principal of Nasiriya College, Delhi and Superintendent of its endowments, Qazi of Gwalior and preacher in the metropolitan mosque (1244-5), Sadr i Jahan, Qazi of the State and magistrate of the Capital underl Nasiruddin (1246). His stay at Lakhnauti, capital of Bengal for nearly 3 years (1241-2 to 1243-44), enabled him to get accurate information about outlying Muhammadan territory.

He wrote congratulatory verses on the accession of Bahram Shah, a congratulatory ode on the accession of Nasiruddin and got a prize. Both the Sultan and Ulugh Khan heaped honours on him, including a village in 'inam' (gift).

All this influenced his work, **Tabaqat i Nasiri,** which was erudite but eulogistic. He named his work in honour of his patron Nasiruddin and adopted an eulogistic manner in writing it. It contains some ejaculatory prayers for the continuance of his reign. Nevertheless, competent critics think that he "rarely indulges in highflown eulogy'. Written in a plain, unaffected style and correct language, his narrative is straightforward and accurate.[36] His judicial profession and academic outlook determined his methodology. In methodology he took great pains in collecting information from 'trustworthy chronicles', testimony of persons, hearsay, and even unspecified sources.[37] But he is brief

to a fault. He is so very meagre in details, that sometimes it is 'too concise to be of much use' (Morley).[38]

6. *Zia uddin Barani* (A.D. 1285-1359)

Born at Baran (modern Bulandshahr), Zia ud din Barani (b. 1285), the first Indian Muslim to compose a history of India, was well connected with the ruling circles of Delhi. As an eye-witness of some events and with easy access to the court he had ample opportunity of knowing the accurate details. A boon companion of Muhammad Tughluq, he did not criticise him in his lifetime. Banished from the court and feeling the stings of evil fortune, he wrote under a sense of being wronged and disappointment. But for his rescue by Firuz, he would have, as he himself says, 'slept in the lap of mother Earth'. An introvert, his conscience was pricked and he attributed his misfortune to his moral failure. So his book had a practical objective ; it was intended to be a double offering ;—to God, to gain His forgiveness and atone for his sin ;—to the Sultan, to secure his patronage and thereby freedom from want and protection from calumny of his enemies. Thus it was named after Firuz Shah. Son of a Sheikh father and Sayyid mother, fast friend of Sheikh Nizam ud din Auliya, Barani was deeply influenced by religion and mysticism. He hated aesthetic learning. This enables us to understand his religious view of history.[39]

It is very surprising that Barani, who had ample opportunities of knowing details accurately, was 'very sparing and inaccurate' in dates. Nor did he always arrange the events in chronological order. His work was also wanting in method and arrangement.

Barani originally intended to write a universal history from Adam. But subsequently he changed his mind. In **Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi** (written, 1358) he deals with eight kings only during the period from Balban to the first six years of Firuz Tughluq, taking up the thread of the narrative almost from the point where Minhaj had left it. It is indeed a 'continuation of Minhaj's chronicle'. His reason for not covering the previous ground was perhaps sentimental weakness, not befitting a true historian, but it throws light on the mentality of the historians of the age. 'If I copy what this venerable and illustrious author has written,

those who have read his history will derive no advantage from mine ; and if I state anything contrary of that master's writings or abridge or amplify his statement, it will be considered disrespectful and rash. In addition to which I should raise doubts and difficulties in the mind of his readers'. This reminds one of the fallacy of the logic alleged to have been attributed to Caliph Umar about the burning of the famous Alexandrian library. For to the discerning critical student of history there are many things besides agreement or repetition and disagreement or doubt.

Though Barani did not employ the technique of 'isnad', he believed in received truth. Facts of history were ascertained not by critical doubts and inquiry but, from the testimony of religious or virtuous men. He would not disagree with Minhaj, a religious man, he would rely on his relatives, on Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan though he did not always trust his own memory, which was prodigious. Nevertheless he wrote like a story teller, irrespective of all authorities. Thus he lacked 'deep research, great discrimination and sustained effort.'

On his own admission Barani based his work partly on his hearsay statements, and partly on personal observations. He learnt his account of Balban from his own father and grandfather and Balban's officers, and of Kaikobad's reign from 'his father and from his preceptors who were men of note at the time.' He supplemented this by his own observations : 'the events and affairs of Jalaluddin's reign up to the end of this work, all occurred under his own eyes'. Without going deep into individual details, he looks at the compact whole. As he writes : 'In this book I have recorded all the diplomatic and administrative affairs of the State and, in the description of conquests I have not mentioned every event or happening, nor have I mentioned privileges granted to the people since wise people will (have) well known these things from a study of administrative affairs.' He is selective. Barani's age was one of literary brilliance, and his style has been described as 'simple, clear and crisp'. Shorn of ornamental verbiage, it is often 'vivid, imaginative and racy, sometimes soaring high in poetic ecstacy'. He often uses Hindi phrases.[40] This work on political history is an encyclopaedia of culture as well, containing lists of historians, philosophers, poets, physicians, saints and religious divines.

Whatever may be his limitations as a historian from the modern point of view, it must be admitted that Barani had a high conception of the function of a historian, viz. to record impartially and honestly the whole truth without fear or favour. By so doing the historian would show his piety and right belief. He believed that the historian would be accountable to God on the day of judgment for what he wrote; his function was to teach 'the lessons of history'. He intended his **Tarikh i Firuz Shahi** to fulfil this conception of the duty of the historian. According to him the primary duty of a historian is impartiality and delineating the truth and so everybody is not qualified for history-writing. Let Barani speak himself.

"The compiler of history must be a man of trust, veracity and impartiality, so that the belief of the reader may be strengthened, and people may easily believe him. And since a historian must be wise and knowing, conscience and religion are also a condition precedent to the writing of books of history. And one of the necessary conditions of the writing of history is that for reasons of conscience it is so incumbent upon the historian that, if he records the virtues, goodness, impartiality, benevolence of a king, or a celebrated personality he should not hide vices and weaknesses. He should not feel shy of such statement but should write it plainly if expediency allows, or else he should inform the wise and the learned readers of these things by hints. And if through fear he cannot record the weakness of his contemporaries, he is helpless. But so far as his predecessors are concerned he should write the exact truth. And if the historian has been offended either by a king or a minister or an eminent person, or if he has been favoured by them, he should not in the course of writing the history make any mention of these things, so that he may not record a greatness or a virtue or an event which does not belong to the person in question. But the historian must, on the basis of religion, belief, truth and conscience, be a recorder of truth and truth alone. And it is incumbent upon historians to refrain from the ways of liars, flatterers, exaggerators, poets and romancers, because they call a shell by the name of ruby and, goaded by their avarice, they will call a pebble a gem, and most of their inventions are forgeries and lies; on the Day of Judgment the fraudulent author will suffer worst pangs."[41]

After referring to his own difficulties in writing this history and to the varied contents thereof, Barani claims that his work is 'worthy of credence': "I have experienced much difficulty in writing this history and expect to receive justice from fair minded people. This work is a collection of many meanings. If it is read as history, people will find in it the annals of sultans and kings. If rules, regulations and healing prescriptions are sought therein it will not be found wanting. If in this history are sought the advice and precepts of wordly rules, they will find more and better here than by the study of other books. Whatever I have written I have written truthfully and honestly and this history is worthy of credence. As I have set down an epitome of many pregnant meanings, this history ought as a matter of duty to be followed as an example".

He feels pride in his own work: "I, Ziya Barani, ... have done wonders in writing this book and people who know history (who have become as rare as the Phoenix and the Philosopher's stone) know that no one has produced a work like the **Tarikh i Firoz Shahi** which is a collection of annals and principles of temporal government . . . If this history is weighed and compared against others and my trouble judged fairly it will be seen that in every line, indeed in every word, I have recorded the frivolities and strangeness of the established rules contained in the annals and traditions of sultans, together with the benefits and injuries brought about by the rule of temporal monarchs, whether openly or by implication, whether by overt or covert expressions."[42]

How far was Barani successful in discharging his duty of honestly recording the truth? Opinions have differed about his honesty and truthfulness. Ferishta even blames Barani for withholding the truth; hence Barani's denunciation of a ruler becomes very important. According to Elliot, Barani was an unfair narrator, because he omitted altogether or slurred over, as of no consequence, some of the most important events, for fear of incurring the displeasure of his patron.[43]

Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah and Dr. Peter Hardy have picked the bubble of his bonafides as an authoritative historian. It was Habibullah who first cast doubts on Barani. His chief defect was mis-representation, though he was not deliberately dishonest. His undue emphasis on characterisation and neglect

of faithful chronicling of events was mainly due to his conception of history and plan of writing. A more serious danger was his mental bias, springing not from any motive or personal reasons but from his politico-religious conviction. His reactionary outlook affected his selection of events and judgments of men and affairs. Sometimes it even led him to make interpolations in his narrative. He did not regard the past as it was but as it ought to have been, according to some ideals of his own. Either condemning or approving, he could not take an objective view. Yet he honestly believed that history was faithful. This made it difficult to detect this tendency of his. Habibullah's thesis is that Barani has projected his own mind and not the actual past in his **Tarikh** and that by 'foisting his own ideas on the past' he has produced an unreal picture. Like Thucydides Barani has included reports of conversations between various persons, viz.,

(a) Sultan Balban and his sons Muhammad and Nasiruddin Bughra Khan
(b) Bughra Khan and Sultan Kaiqubad
(c) Fakhruddin, Kotwal of Delhi, and his nephew Nizam ud din
(d) Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji and Malik Ahmad Chap
(e) Sultan Alauddin Khalji and Malik Ala ul mulk, Kotwal of Delhi, and Qazi Mughisuddin
(f) Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and Barani himself (c. 1347).

But he has put his own ideas in the mouths of the above personages, i.e. to suit the particular character in which he wants to reveal the eight Sultans. In this connection Habibullah has been supported by Hardy.[44] The main ground against Barani is the time lag between the alleged conversations and the date of the composition of the **Tarikh** (1357), forty to seventy years after the death of the Sultans concerned. Nevertheless these were valuable in throwing light on the spirit of polity and moral and social evils of the age. Thus in spite of above criticisms modern historians have generally regarded Barani as undoubtedly 'the most important historian' of the Turko-Afghan period.[45]

Barani's subsequent work, **Fatawa i Jahandari,** containing his counsels to rulers on administration, state policy and army, is an important contribution to political and military thinking of the period.[45a]

7. *Shamsuddin Siraj Afif*

Though born (1342) in an official family Shamsuddin Siraj Afif did not hold any official post. But unlike Barani and Isami he did not indicate that he wrote with any sense of disappointed ambition or neglected merit. He wrote for the edification of his readers. His **Tarikh i Firuz Shahi** was a part of a large historical work dwelling on good qualities (**manaqib**) of three Tughluq rulers (Ghiyasuddin, Mumammad and Firuz) and destruction of Delhi by Timur. It was an example of biography. As 'manaqib' applies to holy men, not Sultans, there was a Sufi undercurrent in it.[46]

The treatment of Shams i Siraj Afif is topical, not chronological. Though he follows a very general chronological sequence of events, he does not place them in a strict chronological sequence. He is more concerned with presenting his account in a literary garb than in making the sequence intelligible.

Afif wrote from authorities, accepting the evidence of reliable informants, but he did not argue from his evidence to decide upon disputed points. Like Barani, Afif uses religious criteria for ascertaining historical truth. When he does not give common report or precise authority of others for the statements in his work, he depended on eye-witnesses.[47]

8. *Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi*

Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi was not a courtier at Delhi but expected to become one. He expected to win royal patronage by presenting his book to Sultan Sayyid Mubarak Shah (1421-34).[48]

In **Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi** (wr. 1434) Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi borrows from previous writers for events up to 1351. But he was not a mere copyist. He had his own principles of selection, i.e., to record deeds of Sultans, nobles and soldiers, arranged reignwise, in chronological order, e.g., accessions, appointments, battles and military movements, rebellions etc. After 1351 he relied on memory, personal observation, the evidence of trustworthy narrators, and not on written materials. But throughout his idiom was the same. He was a mere chronicler of the external actions only. His work was, in fact, a regional chronicle. History is depicted as a succession of military

and political events only, as for example he omits Alaud-din's economic measures.[49]

9. *Amir Khusrau* (A.D. 1253-1325)

Khwaja Abul Hasan Yaminuddin Amir Khusrau or Mir Khusrau (1253-1325) was a member of the aristocracy of his time and occupied, by dint of parentage and his own official career, a very prominent place in Delhi court circles. His father was a Turkish noble in the time of Iltutmish. His mother was an Indian lady, the daughter of Imad ul mulk, a high officer under Balban. He himself served under six Sultans. His close association with them and the aristocracy of blood, military oligarchy and the saint Nizamuddin Auliya gave him an unique opportunity of knowing the truth about the political events and social conditions of the time. But he did not make a good use of his knowledge. Some 'pieces d'occasions' he wrote on requests from Sultans and princes, others in hope of reward or out of gratitude or to achieve literary fame.[50] Amir Khusrau wrote much about the past but he was more a poet than an historian, more a panegyrist than an impartial writer. All this affected his literary and semi-historical compositions. He did not show much attention to chronology even in his only prose history **(Khazain ul Futuh).** He wrote to please rather than to understand, preach or instruct. Out of the 92 works ascribed to him, the majority have been lost. His historical works were written during 35 years (1289-1325) but these were occasional works not parts of an integrated historical whole. Thus the **Qiran us Sadain** (Conjunction of Two planets, 1289), consisted of several descriptive poems, climaxed by the interview of father (Bughra Khan, ruler of Lakhnauti) and son (Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad). His **Nuh Sipihr** throws light on the final subjugation of Devagiri in 1318. The **Khazain ul Futuh** or **Tarikh i Alai**, written in prose, 'the only history extant' during the reign of Alauddin, the most reliable and accurate history of the first sixteen years of this reign (conquest of Deogiri to that of Warangal) is divided into several sections and is not strictly chronological. It bears the impress of the author's poetic nature, literary skill, his political opportunism and fondness for India and everything Indian. It consists of paragraphs, based

on a 'nisbat' (metaphors, similies or allusions, derived from an object), makes frequent use of Quranic verses (to add force and dignity) and of chronograms, and of Hindi words. As Mohammad Wahid Mirza writes: 'Khusrau's concern has been not only to write the annals of his royal patron's reign, but to produce a masterpiece of literature.' He looks at events from aesthetic point of view; action is subordinated to effect. He not only describes the military victories of Alauddin (i.e., seizing the world) but also his administrative achievements,—in consolidating his dominion, establishment of law and order and adoption of several measures in order to promote the welfare of the people, (i.e., keeping of the world). But Amir Khusrau's opportunism makes him pass over his treachery towards his uncle in gaining his throne. Without referring to the assassination of Alauddin's uncle, Amir Khusrau ascribes his accession to God's will.

Amir Khusrau's **Afzal ul Fawaid** throws valuable light on the saintly character of Nizamuddin Auliya, and the poet's intimate association with him. The **Tughluqnamah,** the last historical poem of Amir Khusrau, telling the story of the seizure of Delhi by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq has a religious and moral colour. The Sultan was an exemplar of virtue, fighting against the forces of darkness typified by Khusrau Khan (the infidel) for the cause of Islam.

He does not use evidence of events systematically and critically, indicate the sources of information (except in **Diwal Rani),** or quote orthodox men as Barani and Afif (to some extent) do. The reader has to accept his word as true. It is also couched in a religious and moral idiom. In final analysis history is unintelligible except as outcome of divine will or fate.

According to Cowell his style is full of exaggerations and metaphorical descriptions; the facts of history are tolerably dependable.[51] Khusrau's works which describe social and cultural conditions of the age compensate the absence of 'political historicity' to a large extent.

10. *Isami*

Abdul Malik Isami (born at Delhi, A.D. 1311) wrote his historical epic, **Futuh us Salatin** (written during 1349-1350) as a

disappointed man in search of a patron. He fell a victim to the tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He was forced to move from Delhi to Deogiri (Daulatabad) with his 90 year-old grandfather who died on the way. Without a wife, without children, without friends and without relatives, he looked around for a friend or patron. He complained bitterly of low literary standards in Hindustan and of the sad plight of good authors in an unfriendly world at the mercy of malignant critics. In disgust he wanted to leave Hindustan and go to Mecca. His dream patron appeared in the person of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah. He settled at Daulatabad and wrote under his patronage to become a Firdausi to the Bahmani Sultan. His **Futuh us Salatin** would be **Shahnamah** and it was dedicated to him to win his patronage and get lasting literary fame. His sufferings partly account for his strong condemnation of Muhammad Tughluq. As a historian of the Tughluq period Isami occupied a unique position, being the only writer above fear or favour of the Sultan.[52]

But the work lacks accurate chronology so essential to intelligibility. His treatment is episodic, the episodes being unconnected and undated. The use of terms like 3 or 4 days, a week, sometime, a day is not helpful. The only date given in Alauddin's reign is that of his death.[53]

Isami gave an epic conspectus of the deeds of the Muslims in Hindustan from the Ghaznavides to mid-14th century. Though he relied on older sources he did not follow authority slavishly. He was not a mere slavish copyist of received report and tradition. By imposing his own ideas of form and content on his data, he wrote a selective but somewhat uncritical account of the past, using stories, legends, anecdotes and common reports gleaned from friends and associates (hearsay evidence). Without specifying their exact source, he merely says 'I have heard'. Materials were selected on aesthetic consideration and not on critical and factual criteria. At best he offers not critical history but merely historical evidence. An eye-witness of many developments leading to disintegration of the Tughlaq empire in the Deccan, he refers to court ceremonials of the Bahmani kingdom. His style is clear and the narrative vivid.[54] Both Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ferishta depended on Isami's work.

Section 4: The Mughal Period

(a) *Royal autobiographers*:

The Timurides were themselves highly educated or patrons of education and literature. The memoirs, introduced by them and differing from formal chronicles, constituted a most novel feature. These were written by members of royal family as well as by private persons. The **Malfuzat i Timuri** or **Tuzuk i Timuri** was an autobiographical memoir of Timur written in Chaghtai Turki and dealing with fortyone years of his life. The authenticity of the work, once suspect, is now accepted, thanks to Major Davy. The method by which the accounts and descriptions of the events of Timur's life were recorded has thus been described only thirty years after his death by Sharfuddin Yazdi, author of Zafar-nama, which is a reproduction of the Malfuzat : 'Men of the highest character for learning and knowledge and goodness, Aighur officers and Persian secretaries, were in attendance at the Court of Timur, and a staff of them under the orders of the Emperor wrote down an account of everything that occurred. The movements, actions and sayings of Timur, the various incidents and affairs of state, of religion, and the ministers were all recorded and written down with the greatest care. The most stringent commands were given that every event should be recorded exactly as it occurred, without any modification either in excess or diminution. This rule was to be particularly observed in matters of personal bearing and courage, without fear or favour of any one, and most especially in respect of the valour and prowess of the Emperor himself. The learned and eloquent writers having recorded the facts, their compositions were polished and finished off in verse and prose. From time to time these writings were brought into the royal presence and were read to the Emperor, so as to insure confidence by the impress of his approval. In this way the records of the various incidents and actions of the life of Timur, whether recounted in Turki verse or Persian prose, were revised and finally recorded in prose and verse. Besides this, some of the officers of the Court wrote down the incidents of the reign of Timur, and took the greatest pains to ascertain the truth of what they recorded. Accomplished writers then moulded these productions into Turki

verse and Persian prose."[55] This method, as we will see later, largely influenced and was similar to that used by Abul Fazl in writing his 'magnus opus'.

The motives of Timur in undertaking the invasion of India have been described by him in his own autobiography from which it would appear that religious, economic or material and political factors were at work. In one place Timur refers to two objects, religious and political: 'My principal object in coming to Hindustan, and in undergoing all this toil and hardship, has been to accomplish two things. The first was to war with the infidels, the enemies of the Muhammadan religion; and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to reward in the life to come. The other was a worldly object; that the army of Islam might gain something by plundering the wealth and valuables of the infidels; plunder in war is as lawful as their mothers' milk to Musulmans who war for their faith, and the consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace."[56]

(i) *Religious*:

(a) " . . . the desire to lead an expedition against the infidels, and to become a 'ghazi'; for it had reached my ears that the slayer of infidels is a 'ghazi', and if he is slain, he becomes a martyr. It was on this account that I formed this resolution but I was undetermined in my mind whether I should direct my expedition against the infidels of China or against the infidels and polytheists of India. In this matter I sought an omen from the Kuran, and the verse I opened upon this: 'O Prophet, make war upon infidels and unbelievers, and treat them with severity."[57]

(b) "My great object in invading Hindustan had been to wage a religious war against the infidel Hindus, . . ."[58]

(c) When Timur arrived in Afghanistan, the Muslim inhabitants (of Indarab), both 'nobles and people, high and low', complained in a body, seeking justice and protection against oppression. "The infidel Kators and the Siyah-poshes exact tribute and blackmail every year from us who are true believers, and if we fail in the least of out settled amount, they slay our men and carry our women and children into slavery, so that we helpless Musulmans fly for protection to the presence of the great king that he may grant to us oppressed ones our hearts' desire upon

these infidels. On hearing these words the flame of my zeal for Islam, and my affection for my religion, began to blaze."[59]

(ii) *Economic*:

The wealth of Hindustan tempted Timur. 'Prince Muhammad Sultan said, "The whole country of India is full of gold and jewels, and in it there are seventeen mines of gold and silver, diamond and ruby and emerald and tin and iron and steel and copper and quicksilver, etc., and of the plants which grow there are those fit for making wearing apparel, and aromatic plants, and the sugarcane, and it is a country which is always green and verdant, and the whole aspect of the country is pleasant and delightful."[60] But it was not merely the wealth of Hindustan but the wealth of the infidels and idolaters which gave the invader a special justification. "Now, since the inhabitants are chiefly polytheists and infidels and idolaters and worshippers of the sun, by the order of God and his prophet, it is right for us to conquer them."[61]

(iii) *Political*:

Besides the religious and economic factors there was also a political motive. Timur's invasion was an attempt to re-assert the old domination of Persia and Central Asia over India.

(a) "At this time the prince Shah Rukh said: 'India is an extensive country; whatever Sultan conquers it becomes supreme over the four quarters of the globe; if under the conduct of our amir, we conquer India, we shall become rulers over the seven climes.' He then said: 'I have seen in the history of Persia that, in the time of the Persian Sultans, the King of India was called Darai, with all honour and glory. On account of his dignity he bore no other name; and the Emperor of Rome was called Caesar, and the Sultan of Persia was called Kisra, and the Sultan or the Tatars, Khakan, and the Emperor of China, Faghfur; but the King of Iran and Turan bore the title of Shahinshah of Iran and Turan and it would be a pity that we should not be supreme over the country of Hindustan.' I was excessively pleased with these words of Prince Shah Rukh."[62]

(b) Amir Timur was in no way inferior to Sultan Mahmud, rather superior to him; the former had conquered Hindustan with 30,000 horse, whereas Timur had 100,000 valiant Tatar horsemen: " . . . if he determines upon this expedition Almighty God will give him victory, and he will become a 'ghazi' and 'mujahid' before God and we shall be attendants on an amir who is a 'ghazi', and the army will be contented and the treasury rich and well filled, and with the gold of Hindustan our amir will become a conqueror of the world and famous among the kings of earth."[63]

(c) Timur also wanted to establish peace and internal security by protecting the travellers from the Jats. "They were Musulmans only in name and had not their equals in theft and highway robbery. They plundered caravans upon the road, and were a terror to Musulmans and travellers. They had now abandoned the village and had fled to the sugar-cane fields, the valleys, and the jungles. When these facts reached my ears I prepared a force which I placed under the direction of Tokal Bahadur, son of the Hindu Karkarra, and sent it against the Jats."[64] " . . . these turbulent Jats were as numerous as ants or locusts, and that no traveller or merchant passed unscathed from their hands."[65] All this motivation is in striking contrast to divine ordination and indicates the pre-eminence of secular over religious factors, though the latter were not altogether absent.

During the preliminary discussions before launching the expedition, some opposed the idea of permanent conquest but Timur overbore their objections. 'Some of the nobles said, "By the favour of Almighty God we may conquer India, but if we establish ourselves permanently therein, our race will degenerate and our children will become like the natives of those regions, and in a few generations their strength and valour will diminish." The amirs of regiments ('kushunat') were disturbed at these words, but I said to them, "My object in the invasion of Hindusthan is to lead an expedition against the infidels that, according to the law of Muhammad . . ., we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become ghazis and mujahids before God."[66]

Babur was very well qualified by his experience and attainments to write his invaluable **Tuzuk** which holds a very high place in historical literature. He was not only a great general but a profound politician. However, he was more a soldier of fortune than an architect of empire. He was also an educated and accomplished man of letters (both prose and poetry), proficient, besides his native Turki, in Arabic, Persian and Hindi. He was 'essentially the historian of his own times'. At the same time he was a keen and quick but an exact observer of nature, with a trained eye for beauty and a discerning judge of human character. Hence his autobiography is not merely the diary of a soldier, describing marches and counter-marches, or a political record, portraying his life in camp and court, but a naturalist's journal as well. It also contains his 'personal impressions and acute reflections' as well as minute, detailed and life-like descriptions of the persons referred to in the memoirs. Hence it is unique among eastern biographies. Utterly frank, he protrayed his own virtues and vices and faults and spoke out even unpleasant truth at times. He has given a graphic description of Hindusthan,—its physical features, social and economic conditions, flora and fauna, besides political condition. Scholars like Lanepoole, Beveridge, Elliot and Dowson, have unanimously praised him for his accuracy and truthfulness. But he is not always accurate : his army at Panipat did not number, as he writes,—to magnify his victory,—12,000 men only but double that number (as against Ibrahim's one lakh). Some of his judgments were the product of passing fancy or the foreign invader's inborn prejudice viz., sweeping condemnation of India, her people and civilization. Yet, when all is said, his autogiography forms one of the most charming and valuable records, alike for its historical material and literary merit. In particular, as a source of Indian history during the twenties of the 16th century the value of the third volume of the **Tuzuk** is rated very high.[67]

Jahangir, desirous of improving upon his father's practice of having an official history written by a historiographer, wrote his own memoirs. The **Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri**, which constitutes the main source of his reign and personality, not only bears the impress of his character, scholarship and vicissitudes but also proves him to have been a man of no common ability. It was essentially 'a human document' in which he records his weaknesses, and

confesses his faults, with candour, and a perusal of this work alone would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents. Like his father, he was fond of jewels, and estimated their value as a true connoisseur. He was a lover of nature, both animate and inanimate, and viewed it with a shrewd and observant eye. He mentions the peculiarities of many animals and birds, and shows that he watched their habits with diligence and perseverance. Trees and fruits and flowers also come under his observation, and he gives his opinions upon architectures and gardening like one who had bestowel time and thought upon them. The memoirs were discontinued in the 17th year of his reign (1622) on account of misfortune, ill health and sorrow. These were resumed by Mutamad Khan Bakhshi till the beginning of the 19th year (1624) in the name of the Emperor but under his supervision and thereafter continued as a part of his own work, the **Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri** and then by Muhammad Hadi till the Emperor's death.

His memoirs are not inferior in interest to those of Babur. He comes very near Babur in truthfulness and candour recording his own weaknesses and faults, power of observation and portrayal of nature. If Babur reveals his private debauches, Jahangir calmly describes how he had Abul Fazl murdered. He is, however, discreetly silent or glosses over such events as his rebellion against Akbar, the circumstances of the death of Khusrau and his marriage with Nur Jahan. Nevertheless it is indispensable for his reign.[68]

(b) *Memoir-writers*:

Gulbadan Begum, the well-educated daughter of Babur (c. 1523-1603) and married to a Chaghtai Mughal, Khwajah Khizr Khan, at the age of seventeen, wrote the **Humayunnamah** (1587) in Persian at Akbar's order. Her account of Babur, who died when she was eight, is necessarily very brief, mainly based on reports received from others. Humayun treated her well after 1530. After 1540 she remained in Kabul. The narrative of Humayun's life,—victories, defeats and difficulties and hardships (at treacherous Kamran's hands) was mostly that of an eye-witness. Where she lacked personal observation she had to depend on reports of others, especially senior ladies of the harem, e.g.

Khanzadah, Muham and Hamidah Banu Begums, whom she respected and whose confidence she enjoyed. Occasionally her book is faulty in sequence. But it naturally throws more light on the domestic or family relations of Babur and Humayun and on social and cultural aspects of the Mughals than military details (e.g. Chausa and Kanouj). It was remarkable for its style and content.[69]

Mirza Haidar Doghlat (b. 1499-1500 d. 1551), the accomplished and learned author of **Tarikh-i Rashidi** (wr. 1551), had a very distinguished ancestry. He was the son of Muhammad Husain Mirza (son of the Amir of Kashgar) and the sister of Babur's mother, and hence the first cousin of Babur. Thus he inherited great vigour and ability. It was Babur's 'parental observance and affection' which compensated for the loss, of his father who was put to death by Shaibani Khan of Herat (1508). He praises Babur for his gifts and expresses his gratitude to him. Like Babur again, he was bold and adventurous and showed remarkable military activity at different places. Possessing considerable literary talents and keen power of observation like his cousin, he recorded what he saw and learnt after enquiry. The two latter parts of the book, in particular, were the productions of 'a contemporary intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes' viz., Babur's struggles, Humayun's conflict with Sher Shah. Dedicated to Sultan Said of Kashgar, the work is valuable for the history of Khans of the Mughals and the Amirs of Kashgar and fills up a gap in Babur's memoirs (1508-19). But notices of India are fragmentary and are mainly confined to events in which he himself participated, e.g., his governorship of Lahore under Kamran and his offer of help to Humayun and the conquest of Kashmir (1540) and rule over it till his death in 1551 at the hands of conspirators. His account of the battle of Qanauj shows his power of observation as an eye witness as he was the Wing Commander of Humayun's army. He was devoted to Humayun and asked him to use Kashmir as a spring board for recovery of the empire. His chronology is, however, weak. He shows a strong anti-Shiite spirit during Babur's occupation of Samarqand and subsequent events.[70]

Being Humayun's 'aftabchi' or ewer-bearer for more than twenty years Jauhar, the author of **Tazkirat ul Waqiat** (wr. 1586-7), was his constant attendant and intimate confidant.

Hence he was a contemporary historian. It is not known what his actual position was when he wrote his work. Jauhar himself says that Humayun assigned to him the collection of the revenues of the pargana of Haibatpur. Abul Fazl also mentions him as collector in the district of Haibatpur and later as 'Mihtar' Jauhar, treasurer of the Punjab. So it is clear that he was a man of some distinction. But he did not hold any important office under Akbar.

The book aims at giving a 'faithful and true representation' of the career of Humayun. Being a menial, Jauhar was not a learned person and the work is written in a simple style, without any claim to erudition. The greatest merit of the book is that it was the work of an 'eye-witness', authentic and written with sincerity and naivete. Jauhar owed his official position to Humayun and so Elphinstone considers him to be anxious to give a favourable version to all his actions. But he is largely free from exaggerations and conventional eulogistic approach of panegyrists. It gives a 'vivid and lifelike portrait' of the Emperor in his public affairs—e.g., his escape, difficulties in Persia, as well as virtues of 'courage, fortitude, forbearance, and clemency, kindness, humility, piety and resignation'. In the words of Dr. S. Ray "No other historian gives so detailed an account of Humayun in Iran as Jauhar. No other historian, writing from the Mughal standpoint, reveals the sufferings and indignities to which Humayun was subjected at the Safavid Court". Jauhar gives a fairly good idea of the atmosphere of the Mughal court, showing how it pulsated with his fleeting fortunes.

Jauhar's wrote it (1587) evidently in obedience to Akbar's order to supply materials for the **Akbarnamah,** i.e., more than thirty years after Humayun's death. (But the author's preface does not refer to it). Hence his undoubted honesty and truthfulness must have been diluted, in effect by failing memory. The 'long choosing and beginning late' performance stood in the way of accurate delineation of the incidents and exact narration. V. Smith, of course, thinks that Jauhar 'must have made use of notes recorded at the time of the events described'. But some other scholars do not agree with him. Dowson writes : 'They are not contemporary records of the events as they occurred, but reminiscences of more than 30 years' standing, so that whatever the sincerity and candour of the writer time must have

toned down his impressions and memory had doubtless given a favourable colour to the recollections he retained of a well-beloved master. The conversations attributed to the various personages who figure in his Memoirs must, therefore, contain quite as much of what the author thought they might or ought to have said as of what really was uttered'. S. Banerji has referred to some silly mistakes due to failing memory. But H. Mukhia has shown that Jauhar used some official documents.

Secondly, the memoirs lack in one vital respect. They do not, unlike the memoirs of Babur and Jahangir, throw any light on personal traits and anecdotes which enable the reader to form an estimate of Humayun as a man. Thirdly, it is completely silent on Humayun's early life and life as a prince (23 years). Fourthly, Jauhar is deficient in chronology, giving not only very few dates but also wrong dates at times. But he gives the correct date of Akbar's birth. Fifthly, his knowledge of topography of the Deccan was very poor,—locating the encounter between Humayun and Bahadur in the Burhanpur district. Sixthly, he lacks in sense of proportion, the capacity to 'distinguish the trivial from the important'. At times, however, Jauhar rises to the level of a true historian.[71]

(c) *Mughal official historians: The namahs:*

The Mughal period was pre-eminently an age of official histories or 'namahs'. These constituted another novel feature of this age. This new type of history was inspired by Persian influence and stimulated by the influence of Persians in a cosmopolitan court. It was Akbar who introduced the practice of having the official history of the empire written by the Royal Historiographer and it continued down to the reign of Aurangzeb, who stopped it in his eleventh year. With the recording of events by experienced officials and courtiers, practised clerks and secretaries, a change came over history in 'form, content and spirit alike'. History tended to become a running chronicle. These official histories or 'namahs' were based on an accumulated mass of contemporary records,—official records ('Waqai') of provinces and the **akhbarat i darbar i mu'ala** or court bulletins or news letters and corrected under royal direction. Hence there was no necessity to make a detailed reference to the long chain of 'isnād'. On the other hand the presentation of history inevitably tended to reflect the bias and outlook of the Court,—social,

political and religious. Naturally the official historians (e.g., Abul Fazl, Abul Hamid Lahori, Muhammad Kazim and Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan) could not afford to be independent in their attitude or critical of the actions of the rulers or ministers. They wisely refrained from detailing the career of Humayun in Persia and Afghanistan because of the humiliating treatment accorded to him by Shah Tahmasp. Hence they 'deemed it politic to slur over the temporary eclipse of their royal house". By discarding the former theological conception, history now inevitably tended to concentrate increasingly on the activities of the king and the court. The court chroniclers tended to indulge in 'nauseating flattery' of their patrons as well as in verbosity.

But this flattery was 'more a defect of manner than one of fact'. In these official histories, no fact has been really falsified, though 'credit is often given to the Emperor where he did not deserve it'. For example, the **Ain i Akbari** does not mention Todar Mal's name even once in dealing with the revenue reforms during Akbar's reign and makes the Emperor the inventor of the 'Ain i Dahsala'. But even the Stuart Kings were styled "His Gracious and Sacred Majesty" and Napoleon's Moniteurs were not models of factual veracity. On the other hand these 'namahs' supplied generally trustworthy information, true basis for a narrative, of events of a king's reign, from which we can form our own judgment of the characters and political forces. History came to be secularised. Historians now pleaded for the moral value of its study in place of the earlier theological justification.[72]

Akbar's minister and friend, writer, statesman, diplomat and military commmander, Shaikh Abul Fazl (b. 14 Jan., 1550-1602) belonged to a Hejazi Arab family migrating to Sind and then permanently settled at Nagor, n.w. of Ajmer. He inherited the traditions of mysticism, universal learning and cosmopolitanism from his father and grandfather, while he learnt the lesson of toleration in the school of misfortune and persecution to which his father, a Sufi scholar, Shaikh Mubarak, was subjected for his Mahdavi leanings. He gave signs of his remarkable mental precocity and extensive reading when at the age of fifteen he mastered different branches of science and became a teacher even before the age of twenty. The admonitions of his relatives led him to forsake the seclusion of the academic recluse. Since his introduction to the Emperor in 1573 through his elder brother,

Faizi, his promotion due to his erudition and devoted loyalty, was quick and excited the jealousy of his rivals and enemies. His position, administrative training, and personal contact with every important affair, his access to official papers, his scholarship, and acquaintance with important Arabic and Persian histories, industry and marvellous literary style made both his works invaluable.

Abul Fazl takes his readers to the laboratory of his history and explains his methods in the **Akbarnamah** and the **Ain i Akbari** which remind us of those used for Timur's autobiography. From these we get a clear picture of how he secured his raw materials and worked them up for writing his history, as commissioned by Akbar.

(i) Laborious collection of records and events: 'Assuredly, I spent much labour and research in collecting the records and narrative of his Majesty's actions'. (AN). 'My first care was to collect by the aid of heaven, all the transactions of his enduring reign, and I used exceptional and unprecedented diligence in order to record the chief events of my own time. In many of these occurrences I bore a personal share, and I had a perfect knowledge of the under-currents and secret intrigues of state, to say nothing of the ordinary drift of public affairs.' ('Ain).

(ii) Accumulation of evidence: 'And since the insinuations of rumour had prejudiced me and I was not sure of my own memory I made various inquiries of the principal officers of State and of the grandees and other well-informed dignitaries, and not content with numerous oral statements, I asked permission to put them into writing, and for each event I took the written testimony of more than twenty intelligent and cautious persons.' ('Ain).

'I was a long time interrogating the servants of the State and the old members of the illustrious family. I examined both prudent, truth-speaking old men and active minded, right actioned young ones and reduced their statements to writing.' (AN).

(iii) Imperial search for evidence: 'The royal commands were issued to the provinces, that those who from old service remembered, with certainty or with adminicle of doubt, the events of the past, should copy out their notes and memoranda and transmit them to Court. Inasmuchas this suspicious invitation was not fully responded to nor my wish fully accomplished,

a second command shone forth from the holy presence-chamber; to wit—that the materials which had been collected should be faired out and recited in the royal hearing and that whatever might have to be written down afterwards should be introduced into the noble volume as a supplement and that such details as, on account of the minuteness of the enquiries and the minutes of affairs, could not then be brought to an end, should be inserted afterwards at my leisure. Being relieved by this royal order —the interpreter of the Divine ordinance—from the secret anxiety of my heart, I proceeded to reduce into writing the rough drafts which were void of the graces of arrangement and style.' (AN).

(iv) Materials obtained from the Imperial Record Office: 'I obtained the chronicle of events beginning with the nineteenth year of the Divine Era (i.e. 1574-75), when the Record Office was established by the enlightened intellect of his Majesty, and from its rich pages I gathered the accounts of many events. Great pains too were taken to procure originals or copies of most of the orders which had been issued to the provinces from the accession up to the present day which is the dawn of Fortune's morning. Their sacred contents yielded much material for the sublime volume.' (AN).

(v) Reports of Ministers and Officers: 'I also took much trouble to incorporate many of the reports which ministers and high officials had submitted, about the affairs of the empire and the events of foreign countries.' (AN).

(vi) Testing of evidence: 'And my labour-loving soul was satisfied by the apparatus of inquiry and research. I also exerted myself energetically to collect the rough notes and memoranda of sagacious well informed men. By these means, I constructed a reservoir of irrigating and moistening the rose garden of fortune. But inasmuchas, notwithstanding all this apparatus and these rich treasures of information, the House of History has become decayed from lapse of time, and there were contradictions and imperfections in the accounts and no sufficient means of clearing up difficulties—I begged the correction of what I had heard from his Majesty who, by virtue of his perfect memory, recollects every occurrence in gross and in detail, from the time he was one year old—when the material reason came into action —till the present day when he is by his wisdom the cynosure of penetrating truth-seekers. By repeated interviews I arrived at

correctness and erased doubts and difficulties with the knife of investigation and ascertainment. When peace had possessed my soul, I made honesty and lavish labour conductors of the lofty undertaking.' (AN).

'The flagrant contradictory statements of eye-witnesses had reached my ears and amazed me, and my difficulties increased. Here was date of an event not far distant—the actors in the scenes and transactions actually present—their directing spirit exalted on the throne of actual experience—and I with my eyes open observing these manifold discrepancies— . . . I determined to remedy this, and set my mind to work out a solution. The perplexity disentangled itself and my bewildered state of mind began to grow calm. By deep reflection and a careful scrutiny, taking up the principal points in which there was general agreement, my satisfaction increased, and where the narrators differed from each other I based my presentation of facts on a footing of discriminate investigation of exact and cautious statements, and this somewhat set my mind at ease. Where an event had equal weight of testimony on both sides, or anything reached me opposed to my own view of the question, I submitted it to His Majesty and freed myself from responsibility. By the blessing of the rising fortunes of the State and the sublimity of the royal wisdom, together with the perfect sincerity of the inquirer and his wakeful destiny, I was completely successful and arrived at the summit of my wishes' (Ain).

(vii) Marshalling of facts: 'When I had safely traversed these difficult defiles, a work of considerable magnitude was the result. But since at this formidable stage, in the arrangement of these events no minute regard to details had taken place, and their chronological sequence had not been satisfactorily adjusted, I commenced the methodizing of my materials anew, and began to rewrite the whole, and I took infinite pains especially bestowing much attention on the chronology of the Divine Era. And since I had the assistance of the highest scientific experts, this task also was with facility completed and a separate table was drawn out. . ." (Ain).

(viii) Repeated revision: Abul Fazl repeatedly revised his composition to give it literary grace. Even during the fourth revision his efforts were 'directed to remove all superfluous repetitions and give continuity to the easy flow of my exposition'.

But perceiving 'the incomplete arrangement of my fresh material' he undertook the fifth revision for its 'due ordering'. Abul Fazl was conscious of the truth 'that men close their eyes in regard to their own faults and their own offspring' and so 'made it a practice to be critical of self and indulgent towards others'. He decided on a sixth revision 'to exercise the most minute and fastidious criticism'. But he found no time because of 'frequent calls' made by Akbar. So he was compelled to submit his fifth revision to the Emperor. Thus he laboured hard for seven years in completing the **Akbarnamah** (1597-98).[73]

Abul Fazl was perhaps the most gifted of all the Muslim historians of India. His approach to history has been termed 'Romantic'. His ideas of history can be culled from his **Akbarnamah** and the **Ain i Akbari.**

(i) Value of History : History was defined as 'the events of the world recorded in a chronological order', and the historian as one proficient in history. History is a 'unique pearl of science which quiets perturbations, physical and spiritual, and gives light to darkness, external and internal.[74]

(ii) Scope of History : Abul Fazl indited 'the history of the Lord of Time and the terrene (Zamin u Zaman) and Crown-jewel of monarchs, and praise to God will come into the writing . . . . What a strange mystery it is that in historical writings, praise of the pure Giver is introduced as an adornment to the book, whereas here, the book is adorned in order to the praise of the Creator... My predecessors relied on speech for God's praise ; in this exordium of rare writing, recourse is had to the perfect man who is a God-worshipping king... I made myself ready, so that ... I might reduce to writing the auspicious description of the King of manifestation and reality,—the leader of religion and realm (din u dunya) and might bring together with his beautiful and awful attributes and the praises of his majesty and perfection ; to wit,—the marvellous festivals, wondrous wars, exalted devotions, and pleasant ways of this chosen one of God ... so that I might acquit myself of the duties of (1) worship, (2) loyalty, (3) gratitude..."[75]

(iii) Object of writing history : Abul Fazl intended that his work should occupy a permanent place in world literature and perpetuate his own and his patron's memory. (a) Abul Fazl wanted to compose a history 'suitable to the temperament of

the mortal' with a 'cryptic tongue'.[76] He writes in the preface to the Ain: 'My sole object in writing this work was, first to impart to all that takes an interest in this auspicious century, a knowledge of the wisdom, magnanimity, and energy of him who understands the minutest indications of all things, created and divine, striding as he does over the field of knowledge; and to leave future generations a noble legacy. The payment of a debt of gratitude is an ornament of life and a provision for man's last journey. There may be some in this world of ambitious strife, where natures are so different, desires so numerous, equity so rare, and guidance so scarce, who, by making use of this source of widom, will escape from the perplexities of the endless chaos of knowledge and deeds. It is with this aim that I describe some of the regulations of the great King, thus leaving for far and near, a standard work of wisdom..." (c) He writes in the conclusion of the **Ain** about Akbar's unrivalled greatness as a ruler and he felt it to be his duty to record his great acts and rules for the benefit of posterity. History does a memorial service according to Abul Fazl. "It is evident that of mighty monarchs of old there is no memorial except in the works of the historians of their age, and no trace of them but in the chronicles of eloquent and judicious annalists, yet the ravages of time obliterate them not."[77]

(iv) Regard for truth: Abul Fazl had a high regard for truth in writing his works. He acknowledges to have received from Emperor Akbar the "sublime mandate" to "write with the pen of sincerity the account of the glorious events and of our dominion—increasing victories". He claims that he wrote out of disinterested motives. As distinct from Firdausi who wrote his **Shahnama** in 30 years and earned obloquy by demanding gold from his master, Abul Fazl wrote the **Akbarnamah** in 7 years out of pure gratitude to his master without any expectation of monetary gain or wordly advancement. "I have not set my heart upon the composition of this work with a view to approbation or to listen to my own praises, into which pitfall of the imagination so many have sunk, nor suffered my natural constitution to be trodden under foot by ambition..." Unlike other "men who close their eyes in regard to their own faults and their own offspring..., I have made it a practice to be critical of self and indulgent towards others..." Indeed Abul

Fazl's writings are free from personal rancour and marked by sobriety and dispassionate attitude even towards his enemies.[78]

Historian Abul Fazl's monumental works are two, the **Akbarnamah** and the **'Ain i Akbari.** These two books are complimentary and have to be used as companion volumes. While the **Ain** enlightens us about Akbar's experiments and institutions, **Akbarnamah** enables us to understand the spirit behind those institutions, the difficulties faced and their solution. "Neither tells us all we want to know, but nearly all is contained in one or other. . ." (Moreland).

In fact the role of Abul Fazl as an historian has been the subject of a controversy among scholars, some accusing, others praising him and his works.

European writers e.g., Elliot, Elphinstone and Morely have accused Abul Fazl not only of flattery but even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his patron. ("He was . . . a most assiduous courtier eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested. . ."). Smith dubs him 'as an unblushing flatterer of Akbar'. But according to Blochmann, "a study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the **Akbarnamah** will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded. . . . His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent in every page of the book."

Let us come to some details. The charges of flattery and deliberate perversion of truth are made as regards (i) the date of Akbar's birth, and the story of his naming, (ii) the capitulation of Asirgarh. But when compared with other Eastern historians, Abul Fazl's praises are dignified ; and though sometime his adulation is jarring he was following the example of many other contemporaries. We know that Maham Anaga put to death two girls in possession of her son Adham Khan in Malwa for fear of their disclosing the true facts to Akbar. Akbar overlooked the offence. How would Abul Fazl put this on record? He could not openly criticize the Emperor. Abul Fazl certainly disapproved of the killing and recorded it by praising Akbar's forgiveness. Again, when Hussain Mirza was put to death in Gujrat at Akbar's orders, Abul Fazl records that this was done at the suggestion of Bhagwan (Bhagwant, to be exact) Das who was not justified in giving it. This is Abul Fazl's way of avow-

ing that 'the king can do no wrong'. Abul Fazl criticized Munim Khan (Vakil), Raja Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khan, and the provincial officials. He also criticizes Jahangir for his conduct towards the end of Akbar's reign.

In fine Abul Fazl displayed his sound historical imagination in the **Akbarnamah.** It is "not only the most authentic history of Akbar's reign but it is an accurate record of the varied activities of the State, in which its every phase is accurately and vividly brought out."[79]

The concluding part of the **Akbarnamah** is the **Ain i Akbari.** It starts with the avowed object of describing the country, the manners and customs of the people, and it gives an idea of the political institutions, imperial regulations as well as popular beliefs. It may well be described as the Administrative Report and Statistical Return of Akbar's government about 1590 A.D., roughly comparable to modern administrative reports and statistical compilations. Briefly this administrative manual was the first official gazetteer of India and it set a model for the future. Blochmann described its nature as follows: "In the **Ain** we have a picture of Akbar's government in its several departments and of its relations to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects, as distinct from the records of wars and dynastic changes in most Muhammadan histories. We have in the **Ain** the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live, and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful and therefore vivid colours." (Intro. v.).

To early British administrators it appeared as an indispensable and first-rate source book of pre-British administrative system and it was laid under contribution by Tieffentaller (1776), Chief Sheristadar Grant and Francis Gladwin (1783). Hence it became the best known original source and most easily accessible to English-knowing readers.

But a closer study of the **Ain** removes the illusion that it is socio-economic history. It has many defects. Everything centres round the Emperor and his court, and there is no attempt at comparing the conditions under Akbar with those before. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar it was the first work of its

kind in India written when the Mughal governmental structure was still in a half-fluid condition. Abul Fazl 'draws an ideal picture instead of giving us a faithful description of the administration in its actual working.' But this view is not always correct. For example, many duties ascribed by Abul Fazl to the kotwal are corroborated by Akbar's relevant 'farman' and also by Manucci. His verbose and rhetorical style buried his grain of fact. So it is not of much real help in drawing a correct and detailed picture of the administrative machinery. As a statistician no detail escapes Abul Fazl's microscopic investigation. But there are difficulties of interpretation and the picture is vague and unreal.

Notwithstanding these limitations, 'the Ain is invaluable as an account of Akbar's administrative system' (Smith). The merit and the only merit of the Ain is in what it tells, and not in the manner of its telling ; it is a unique compilation of the administrative system and the most complete and authoritative history of Akbar's reign.[80] It has been described as 'the greatest work in the whole series of Muhammadan histories of India.' (Blochmann)

Abul Fazl has been regarded in India as the 'Grent Munshi', a master of style and unexcelled in the epistolary art. His pen was feared more by Abdullah king of Bokhara than Akbar's arrow. According to the **Maasir ul Umara** 'As a writer Abul Fazl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and is free from the technicalities and flimsy pettiness of other munshis ; and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, the suitableness of his compounds, and the elegance of his periods are such that it would be difficult for anyone to imitate him.' But in reality his style was ornate and verbose. Inayetullah says that the later volumes of Abul Fazl were more laboured and abstruse than the first. Beveridge did not find Abul Fazl's language to be picturesque ; he was neither as charming as Herodotus, nor as racy as Badauni. To Jarrett Abul Fazl was 'quaint', 'stiff' 'obscure' and even montonous. Elliot, Elphinstone and Morely have condemned his style and even cast doubts on the 'fairness of the account.' 'Though he was a man of enlarged views and extraordinary talents', yet, as Elphinstone remarks, 'he was a professed rhetorician and is still the model of the unnatural style which is so much admired in India . . . . His narrative is florid, fickle,

and indistinct, overloaded with commonplace reflections and pious effusions, generally ending in a compliment to his patron'. Beveridge, however, has vindicated Abul Fazl's general accuracy.[81]

But in spite of his learning and liberal education and outlook, training in different state departments, high official position, exhaustive research based on access to official records and facilities, and his command over language, Abul Fazl could not rise to the level of the scientific, objective historian. For he wrote as 'an advocate and apologist' of Akbar.

Perhaps Shahjahan's reign is richest in contemporary historical or biographical material, for there were successive experimentations in history-writing. Like his grandfather Shahjahan had the official history of his reign complied, first by Muhammad Amin Qazvini or Mirza Aminai Qazvini and then Jalaluddin Tabatabai and later still by Abdul Hamid Lahori. Qazvini, a protege of Afzal Khan, wrote of Shahjahan's princely life and the first ten years of his reign (1627-36) but he could not come up to the level of Abul Fazl. Shahjahan, therefore, replaced him and commissioned Abul Hamid (d. 1654), patronised by Sadulla Khan, and then living a retired life at Patna, to write the history. With Abul Fazl as his model he wrote a detailed account of Shahjahan, first as a prince and then as emperor for the first 20 years, which is regarded as 'the final official history' of the reign. It has, however, to be stated that after his death in 1065/1653 on account of his old age, the work was entrusted to his pupil and assistant, Muhammad Waris. The latter modelled the first 20 years of the reign on his master but wrote an independent work for the remaining period (21st to 30th year of the reign). There is no official account of the rest of the reign. Both Qazvini and Lahori were critical of Nur Jahan, when dealing with Khurram's rebellion. All the four authors had access to the official records of the period and supply fulsome contemporary detailed accounts of all important events, including military disasters. About this work of Lahori it has been said : "It enters into most minute details of all the transactions in which the Emperor was engaged, the pensions and dignities conferred upon the various members of the royal family, the titles granted to the noble, their change of office, the augmentations of their mansabs, and it gives lists of all the various presents given and received on public occasions,

such as the vernal equinox, the royal birthday, the royal accession, etc. Thus the work contains a great amount of matter of no interest to any one but the nobles and courtiers of the time. But it would not be fair to say that it is filled with these trifles; there is far too much of them but still there is a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of the reign has been drawn by later writers."[82]

Aurangzeb at first continued the tradition of his predecessors, Akbar and Shahjahan. He directed Mirza Muhammad Kazim, son of Muhammad Amin Munshi, to write his history, the **Alamgirnamah.** It is the most detailed of all its counterparts. 'His style being approved by the King, he was ordered to collect information about all the extraordinary events in which the King had been concerned, and accounts of the bright conquests which he had effected, into a book; and accordingly an order was given to the officers in charge of the Royal Records to make over to the author all such papers as were received from the news-writers and other high functionaries of the different countries concerning the great events, the monthly and yearly registers of all kinds of accidents and marvels, and the descriptions of the different subas and countries."[83] The **Alamgirnamah** is a courtly panegyric, 'fulsome in its flattery, abusive in its censure. Laudatory epithets are heaped one upon another in praise of Aurangzeb; while his unfortunate brothers are not only sneered at and abused, but their very names are perverted. Dara Shukoh is repeatedly called Be-Shukoh, "the undignified"; and Shuja is called Na-Shuja, "the unvaliant". But history writing was banned after the eleventh year by the Emperor. This prohibition is sometimes ascribed to financial reasons. Perhaps it was due to his moral scruples, viz., "the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievement." It was Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan (munshi of Inayatullah Khan, wazir of Bahadur Shah) who had been in imperial service for forty years, and an eye-witness of many events, who compiled the full official history of Aurangzeb's reign at the request of his patron, three years after his death (1710) from state papers, documents and personal recollections. The first ten years is an abridgement of **Alamgirnama** but the remainder was original. On account of Aurangzeb's prohibition he 'secretly wrote an abridged account' of the

Deccan campaign, 'simply detailing the conquests of the countries and forts without alluding to the misfortunes of the campaign.'[84] The **Maasir** is very brief as compared with **Alamgirnamah.** The official history of the first two years (1707-9) of Bahadur Shah's reign, **Bahadurshahnamah,** was written by Danishmand Khan (Nimat Khan 'Ali).

(d) *Non-official or private histories (or biographies)*:

Stimulated by the imperial patronage of literature, these helped to supplement and at times, correct the information derived from the eulogistic official annals of the period. Strictly speaking the term 'non-official' history or biography is a misnomer, for anybody, who was somebody was either in imperial service or in the personal staff of some officer. But it only means that none of such authors wrote to imperial order.

We know very little of (Mirza or Khwajah) Nizam ud din Ahmad (d. 1594), author of **Tabaqat-i-Akbari** (also called **Tabaqat-i-Akbar Shahi).** Belonging to an influential family he was son of Ahmad Khwaja Mukim Harawi (i.e., of Herat) who served under Babur, Humayun and Akbar,—under the first as diwan-i-buyutat, diwan of the household, under the second as Wazir to 'Askari in Gujrat (1535) and under the third in some government work (1567). He also played a decisive part in terminating the intrigue to oust Humayun from the throne after Babur's death and accompanied Humayun to Agra and in his defeat by Sher Khan at Chausa (1534). Khwaja Nizamuddin was a pupil of Mulla Ali Sher, a learned man, the father of Shaikh Illahadad Faizi Sirhindi (the author of **Akbarnamah).** A well-educated and well-read man, Nizamuddin was a student of history and literature. He learnt from his father the 'worth of historical writing', followed his instructions in studying historical works and received his father's recollections also. In writing his **Tabaqat,** he had Mir Masum of Bhakkar, a learned man and historian, as well as Shaikh Muhammad Ishaq Taghai as his associates. Nizamuddin was one of the seven authors commissioned by Akbar to compile the **Tarikh i Alfi** (1582). A polished courtier he was equally friendly with the orthodox and liberal Muslims and liked both by Badauni and Abul Fazl. Badauni describes him as 'a kind and complaisant man of wealth,

orthodox and religiously disposed'. In fact he had associations with 'Sufis, Shaikhs and religious people in general'.

But Nizamuddin knew the art of dissimulation well enough, because it was through it that this pious Muslim kept his religious views to himself and could manage to ascend the ladder of imperial favours. In 1589 he was recalled from Gujrat to the Court, where his orthodoxy came to be diluted by its atmosphere. Thus Nizamuddin found it politic not to protest against Akbar's religious innovations. As Dr. Baini Prashad notes: 'Nizamuddin's ruse in mentioning Shaikh Hussain's name when some of the orthodox leaders were summoned to the Imperial Court, also indicates the skilful way in which he managed to keep himself safe from his own religious beliefs being questioned.'

Nizamuddin was also a soldier and administrator. He was scrupulously upright and excelled his contemporaries in administrative knowledge. For long he was the bakhshi of Gujrat for which province his work was highly important. Later on his good record of service led to his recall to Court and he held the high office of the Mir or First Bakhshi (1591-92) as well. Of him Badauni has left this tribute: 'Khwaja Nizamuddin left a good name behind him.... There was not a dry eye at his death and there was no person who did not on the day of his funeral call to mind his excellent qualities.'

Nizamuddin wrote this history in 1592-3 with additions in 1594. His object, as he himself wrote, was to supply the lack of a single history of the whole of India, after the **Tabaqat i Nasiri** of Minhaj and **Tarikh i Firuz Shahi** of Barani; for he found provincial histories and a few detached and incomplete compilations, but 'not a single work containing a complete compendium of this entire division of the world has yet been written'; 'neither have the events connected with the centre of Hindustan, the seat of government of this empire the capital Delhi, been collected in one book.' Thus he intended his work to be a history of Mughal India as it was under Akbar unifying its different regions. Dealing with nine regions **(tabqa),** viz., Delhi, Kashmir, Multan, Sind, Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, Gujrat and the Deccan, the **Tabaqat** has a regional framework. Within it, however, there is a dynastic and chronological approach, a continuation of the method of writing history according to regnal

years as in the Turko-Afghan period. However, instead of following the earlier tradition and even contemporary emphasis on personalities, he came to dwell more on events, though selected arbitrarily. The Introduction narrates the history of the Ghaznavides, while the concluding portion gives a survey of Akbar's empire. Apart from the thirty two works, which Nizamuddin not only summarized but virtually pirated, he derived his materials from the testimony of individuals, his own observation and even hearsay without any critical sifting as was done by Abul Fazl. The **Tabaqat** is essentially political history with a mere narration of facts, without any attempt at explaanation of the historical process. It is, however, one of the most celebrated histories of medieval India. It came to be regarded by all contemporary historians as a standard history and has been the quarry of subsequent writers, both Indian and European. Smith describes it as 'a dry, colourless chronicle of external events', without any reflections or criticisms of events and actions, i.e., without any value judgments. But though monotonous it is a careful and dispassionate study.[85]

Mulla Abdul Qadir better known as Badauni (1540-1615) was born at Badaun in Rohilkhand (Fyzabad). His father, Shaikh Muluk Shah, was a pupil of Saint Bachu of Sambhali. Badauni himself studied under Shaikh Hatim Sambhali and then, along with Faizi and Abul Fazl, under Shaikh Mubarak. Having studied many sciences under the most renowned and pious men of the age, he became a very learned man and excelled in music, history and astronomy. He cherished a great love of history from his childhood and spent his hours in reading or writing some history, as he himself wrote. In 1573 or 1574 he was introduced to Akbar, who was deeply impressed by the extent of his theological learning and ability to humble the Mullahs, and appointed him Court Imam for his voice and gave him a madad i ma'ash of 1000 bighas of land. He was frequently employed by Akbar to translate Arabic and Sanskrit works (e.g. Mahabharata) into Persian. But he grew to be a hostile critic of Akbar, envious of Faizi and Abul Fazl (who threw him into the background) and dissatisfied with Akbar for his free thinking and eclectic religious views, administrative reforms and for his patronage of non-Muslims (to the disadvantage of the Muslims' claim of monopoly of office and rewards).

Unable to get the expected preferment and advancement in imperial service and with his mind sore against the Emperor, he wrote his book in a spirit of frustration and expressed his glee at Akbar's troubles. Badauni attributed the political troubles of Akbar's reign i.e., the rebellions of Bihar and Bengal Afghans, the rebellion of Mirza Hakim etc. to divine wrath at Akbar's administrative policy in curbing the Sadr's power in granting lands. ('The king disturbed our madad i ma'ash lands and God. has now disturbed his country'). The second volume of his book, solely devoted to Akbar's reign, is a check on the turgid panegyric of Abul Fazl. Though it was really an interesting work, it contained so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during his life time and could not be published till after the accession of Jahangir. It provided an index to the mind of the orthodox Sunni Muslims of Akbar's days. According to Prof. S. R. Sharma it is not very valuable except for the account of events in which Badauni himself took part. Moreland describes the work as reminiscences of journalism rather than history. Topics were selected less for their intrinsic importance than for their interest to the author, who presented the facts so selected coloured by his personal feelings and prejudices in bitter epigramatic language, which has to be discounted. The author not only uses some uncommon words but indulges in religious controversies, invectives, eulogiums, dreams, biographies and details of personal and family history which interrupt the unity of the narrative... Yet these digressions are the most interesting portions of the work... His own extensive knowledge of contemporary history also induces him very often to presume that his reader could not be ignorant of it. So he often slurs over many facts, or indicates them obscurely.

Badauni wrote his work to supplement the **Tabaqat i Akbari** and he acknowledged his indebtedness to it by describing his own work as an abridgment of it. He was also indebted to the **Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi.** Nevertheless there is much original matter in the **Muntakhab ut Tawarikh**. The third or concluding portion of the work, dealing with lives of Muslim saints, philosophers, physicians and poets of Akbar's reign, is very useful and corrects the author's fulminations against Akbar. The chronology and sequence of events are defective at times.

Badauni's ideas of History were as follows :

(i) *Value of History*:

'The science of History is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced and the source of the experience of the learned and discrimination, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent shortsighted as they are (i.e. Shias), are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muhammad...' Badauni's appeal is thus to a limited class of people.

(ii) *Object of writing his history*:

He wrote the work with an anti-Akbar psychology to record 'his sorrow for the faith and heart burning for the deceased' religion of Islam at the unprecedented and 'complete revolution both in legislation and manners.' Let him speak out: "I shall now explain what it was that originally led me to collect these fragments. Since a complete revolution, both in legislation and in manners, greater than any of which there is any record for the past thousand years, has taken place in these days, and every writer who has had the ability to record events and to write two connected sentences has, for the sake of flattering the people of this age, or for fear of them, or by reason of his ignorance of matters of faith, or of his distance from court, or for his own selfish ends, concealed the truth, and, having bartered his faith for worldly profit, and right guidance for error, has adorned falsehood with the semblance of truth, and distorted and embellished infidelity and pernicious trash until they have appeared to be laudable... I have made bold to chronicle these events, a course very far removed from that of prudence and circumspection. But God (He is glorious and honoured!) is my witness, and sufficient is God as a witness, that my inducement to write this has been nothing but sorrow for the faith, and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of Islam, which 'Anqa-like

turning its face to the Qaf of exile, and withdrawing the shadow of its wings from the dwellers in the dust of this lower world, thenceforth became a nonentity, and still is so.'

In practice Badauni's work was an index to the mind of orthodox Muslims of his day. His open satire on Abul Fazl, Faizi and Akbar is revealing. His whole outlook was anti-Akbar. He selected facts not for their intrinsic worth but for their special interest to suit his point of view and he presented them after colouring them with his personal idiosyncracies in caustic language which gave him inward satisfaction. His history was, from this point of view, essentially psychological.[86]

Mulla Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah surnamed Ferishta (1570-1623) born at Astarabad in Iran near Caspian Sea, was the author of a monumental work, **Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi** or **Nauras Nama,** better known as **Tarikh-i-Ferishta** (wr. 1619-20). He was the son of Ghulam Ali Hindu Shah, tutor of Prince Miran Hussain, son of Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Leaving Ahmadnagar on the murder of the parricide Miran (1589) Ferishta migrated to Bijapur (1591), then under Ibrahim Adil Shah II. Ferishta writes about practically every medieval Muslim Deccani Kingdom. He claims that it is based on 35 earlier histories (including Nizamuddin's **Tabaqat),** some of which have been lost. Thus it is a compilation but he was an eye-witness of several events in the Deccan. Hence it sometimes gives new information and has come to be regarded as a classic, unapproached for completeness of detail,—facts, figures and dates,—independence and general accuracy, and devoid of religious or political prejudice, written with the golden pen of truth. He does not even flatter the prince, his patron (Ibrahim Adil Shah). But he was not entirely free from sectarian bitterness (with reference to the Sayyids) and bigotry (speaking of wholesale massacre of defenceless Hindus). But he was a mere chronicler and did not profess to be a philosophical historian, by probing into the causes of the events. The account of the Qutb Shahis is, according to Professor Sherwani, both sketchy and incorrect in several respects. His account of Mughal administration is misleading and not of much help.[87]

Muhammad Hashim or Hashim Ali Khan, better known as Khafi Khan, belonged to a good family migrating from Khwaf (in Khurasan district) and settling at Delhi. His father, Khwaja

Mir, also an historian and a high officer under Murad Bakhsh, passed over after his tragic end to Aurangzeb's service and on the latter's death he was appointed diwan by the Nizam. Hashim Ali also grew up in Aurangzeb's service and engaged in various political and military offices. Most probably he was connected with some of his countrymen (of Khwaf), who were collectors of customs at Surat. He was deputed by the Viceroy of Gujrat, —because of his good acquaintance with Western India, on a mission to the English at Bombay. He was appointed Diwan by Nizam ul mulk of Hyderabad during the reign of Farrukh-siyar and hence called Nizam ul mulki.

The **Muntakhab u'l Lubab** or **Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan** is a complete history of the House of Timur, a history of the Mughals from Babur (1519 A.D.) to the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign (1733). It was composed 53 years after Shivaji's death. The introduction traces, in outline, the history of the Mughals and Tartars from Noah to Babur. The first part dealing with the period from Babur to Akbar is brief but clear. The major part is concerned with the period from 1605-1733. 'It is chiefly valuable for containing an entire account of the reign of Aurangzeb, of which, in consequence of that Emperor's well-known prohibition, it is very difficult to obtain a full and connected history. It is, however, to this very prohibition that we are indebted for one of the best and most impartial histories of Modern India'. The period (1680-1733) was written, as he himself says, from 'personal observations and verbal accounts of men who had watched the occurrences of the time'. He 'privately compiled a minute register of all the events' of Aurangzeb's reign.

(e) Khafi Khan held a high ideal of the duty of an historian. His Ideas of History may be considered from what he himself writes :

'I have already said in my Preface that it is the duty of an historian to be faithful, to have no hope of profit, no fear of injury, to show no partiality on one side or animosity on the other, to know no difference between friend and stranger, and to write nothing but with sincerity. But in these changeful and wonderful times of Farrukh Siyar Badshah . . . men have shown a partiality or an animosity to one side or the other exceeding all bounds. They have looked to their own profit and loss,

and turned the reins of their imagination accordingly. The virtues of one side they have turned into faults, while they have shut their eyes to the faults of the other, passing all the bounds of moderation. The writer of these leaves, who, following his own inclination, has wasted his days in authorship has not been partial either to friends or strangers, and has flattered neither nobles nor wazirs in the hope of reward. What he himself saw, what he heard from the tongues of men who from time to time were the associates of . . . Farrukh Siyar and from the Saiyids who were his companions at the banquet table and in battle, that he has honestly committed to writing, after endeavouring to arrive at the truth when statements varied. But as notes of various occurrences and transactions did not reach the author, and as, through distress and the unfriendliness of fortune, he was unable to procure paper for his rough drafts, and as discrepancies in the various statements became greater, if it should appear that in any place the author differs in any particulars from other histories and writers, who themselves may not be free from partiality, and as variations will appear in the most trustworthy histories, he begs that his stories being excused, they may not be made a target for the arrows of censure, but that the pen of kindness may be drawn over his hasty statements'.

He used the information derived from official records (open to few but to which he had access) admirably. But he wrote from the official point of view. He describes Shivaji as a rebel against the empire and as the murderer of Afzal Khan Bijapuri. The chronogram of Shivaji's death was 'Kafir ba-jahannam raft'. Nevertheless he praised Shivaji's chivalry very highly and observed that the Maratha leader strictly prohibited harm to 'Mosques, the Book of God, or Women'. This has been acknowledged to be 'one of the best and most impartial histories' of the period. Sri Ram Sharma has, however, shown that Khafi Khan was guilty of plagiarism and dubs him as a 'Prince of Plagyrists.'[88]

Mirza Muhammad Hasan, alias Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur, the author of the celebrated **Mirat i Ahmadi** belonged to a family of Persian emigrants. Born in 1700 at Burhanpur where his father was a civil official in Aurangzeb's Deccan army, he accompanied him to Gujrat in 1708 when it was bestowed in jagir on Prince Jahandar Shah. He was educated at Ahmadabad where his father was appointed waqainigar or chief

reporter of the Prince's minister, Sayyid Aqil Khan. After his father's death he was appointed Superintendent of the cloth market and ultimately became the Diwan of the province of Gujrat from 1747 to 1755, when it was annexed by the Marathas (hence called the 'Khatim ud diwan'). Unusually intelligent and active, Mirza Muhammad was trained in the school of adversity. As Diwan he found the administration utterly disorganised in the anarchical condition of the empire's dissolution, civil wars and Maratha raids. He has described the anarchy and the information of the province collected after a diligent search. In writing this History of Gujrat (1000-1760) which took ten years to compile (1750-60), he was assisted by a Hindu assistant, Mithalal Kayeth, the hereditary 'subahnavis' of Gujrat.

The **Mirat i Ahmadi** falls into two parts, marked by separate treatment. The period up to Aurangzeb is brief and derivative, being based on previous works like the **Mirat i Sikandari, Akbarnamah, Padshahnamah** etc. But the latter part (and the supplement) are original, based on the author's own experience of the provincial administration and observations of the contemporary events, in many of which he himself took part. The 'Khatima' or the Supplement is valuable for the detailed topographical description of Gujrat, lives of saints, the official classes, statistical details and the administrative system in general. The work contains some 'farmans' of Aurangzeb which throw valuable light on agrarian administration.[89]

Section 5 : Performance lagging behind precept

Representative historians of all ages in widely scattered parts of the world placed a high value on impartial and truthful delineation of history. In practice, however, this ideal was not always realised. Herodotus, it is true, began, in the anti-historical background of Greek thought a new art of basing a genuine epos upon search for truth, but he was not conscious of the boundary line between fact and fiction. He believed in a providential scheme. Even Thucydides 'seemed to himself to stand on the very threshold of history. He was generally unable to grapple with the past, failed to give adequate picture of Greek politics, lacked the sense of socio-economic forces, and permitted himself the use of the unhistorical convention of putting the poli-

tical and diplomatic elements of the narrative in the form of speeches by principal characters'. Tacitus may be a gigantic contributor to historical literature but it is doubtful if he was an historian at all. Kalhana failed to apply his high ideals in his own history. The Arab historians were generally reputed for their high standard of truthfulness notwithstanding some adverse factors. But even Ibn Khaldun, 'the greatest figure in the Social Sciences between the time of Aristotle and that of Machiavelli', failed to follow his own philosophical principles in his own Universal History. It is not, therefore, surprising that the medieval Muslim historians of India also could not come up to their professed ideals in practice.[90]

What were the causes why the performance of a writer far lagged behind the profession of the ideals, the conception of history ? What were the sources of error ? With penetrating analysis Ibn Khaldun[91] makes the pregnant observation that 'All records, by their very nature, are liable to error—nay, they contain factors which make for error'. These may be summarised as follows :

(i) Partisanship towards a creed or opinion. It acts as a blinker to the mind, preventing it from investigating and criticising and inclining it to the reception and transmmission of error.

(ii) Over-confidence in one's sources.

(iii) Failure to understand what is intended.

(iv) Mistaken belief in the truth.

(v) Inability to place an event rightly in its real context, owing to the obscurity and complexity of the situation.

(vi) Very common desire to gain the favour of those of high rank by praising them, by spreading their fame, by flattering them, by embellishing their doings and by interpreting in the most favourable way of all their actions. This gives a distorted version of historical events.

(vii) Most important of all, the ignorance of the laws governing the transformations of human society. For every single thing, whether it be an object or an action, is subject to a law governing its nature and any changes that may take place in it.

(viii) Exaggeration: most of our contemporaries give free rein to their imagination, follow the whisperings of exaggeration, and transgress the limitations of customary experience . . . The real cause of this error is that men's minds are fond of all that is strange and unusual . . . .

(ix) Another hidden source of error in historical writing is the ignoring of the transformations that occur in the condition of epochs and peoples with the passage of time and the changes of periods.

The causes of frustration of accuracy and the common limitations of the early Muslim writers may be analysed, as being due, among others, to the following factors: (i) exaggeration as a legitimate practice. Many find it difficult to distinguish between fact and the product of imagination. This might be due either to imagination, literary tricks to create an effect, or poetical eulogies or rhapsodic eulogies and praise of rulers and nobles, e.g., Hasan Nizami's description of sending thousands of Hindus to hell in Ajmer and Amir Khusrau's epithet of overlord of Gujrat, Devagiri, Telingana, Bengal and Malwa applied to Kaikobad, (ii) wilful misrepresentation and distortion, due to prejudices, personal, class or otherwise, expectation of gain and fear of punishment, personal antagonism or dislike of particular actions. The vilifications of Muhammad Tughluq by Isami, Ibn Batuta, and Barani and of Akbar by Badauni belong to this category. This aspect becomes specially dangerous when the author is the only authority available. (iii) misunderstanding: Sometimes careless and improper use of unconventional phrases and idioms by the author may lead to wrong conclusions.[92] (iv) Untrusworthiness of human memory: Even a person of retentive memory may be betrayed. This accounts for much of the unreliability of Jauhar's **Tazkirat ul Waqiat.** (v) Sometimes the truthfulness of a writer is affected when he thinks that what ought to have happened actually happened. This tendency is seen among writers like Barani and Jauhar. (vi) Many unscrupulous persons also deliberately perverted or fabricated history.

In fine it must be admitted that it is easy enough to speak of being or becoming an impartial and accurate historian. In practice it is difficult if not impossible. The first stage in history writing is to ascertain the facts or factors. This by itself is quite

a difficult job. Next these have to be understood and finally an intelligible and readable account is to be given. The historian must be guided to some extent, if not by prejudice or predeliction at any rate, by his point of view and intention, determined by the delimitation implied in his subject. 'He must use his material by choosing from it, ordering it and interpreting it. He is bound to introduce an element of subjectivity—tamper with or detract from the absolute, unchanging truth. Behind the facts, behind the goddess History, there is a historian. Clio may be in possession of the truth, but to the historian she will at best, in exchange for his labour and devotion, vouchsafe a glimpse. Never will she surrender the whole of her treasure. The most that we can hope for is a partial rendering, an approximation, of the real truth about the past.'[93]

Section 6 : Intelligibility in history

The role of history in achieving knowledge is undeniable. The growth of the idea of synthesis of history ('synthesis of reconstitution') was characterised by the struggle between two attitudes—political history and cultural history. Now a days 'Political history, direct descendant of that pragmatic history—so brilliantly represented by Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus and Machiavelli . . . concerned with affairs, with motives of statesmen, and . . . orientated towards political action has lost some of its prestige. History tends to embrace life in the entirety of its aspect and thus to unite all the special disciplines and all the so-called historical sciences which have sprung from analysis.'[94] Attempts at historical synthesis took the form of 'philosophy of history'. This tendency was represented in Europe by two schools, the Christian and the German idealist. Since the time of Augustine (De Civitas Dei) the Christian school attributed events to divine will. According to this theological interpretation history was the working of God's providence. Then arose the conception that human affairs were shaped by human factors. Gradually there grew up the concept of an organic unity of man's entire social life, depending on the slow working of forces beyond the control of human will or reason. This led to the growth of the historical method in the 19th century. As offshoots of the historical stream flowed Hegelian rationalism, de-

riving the sequence of events from the Idea by dialectic. This in turn produced the economic interpretation or materialistic conception of history which was opposed to both the Christian and the German idealist schools. Marx emphasized the dominating influence of economic relationships. But the main stream of thought from the middle of the 19th century was influenced more by Comte, father of Positivism, Buckle and Taine. Then comes scientific history, represented by bands of scholars in England (e.g. Bradley, Bury, Oakeshott and Toynbee) Germany, France and Italy.

Up to the close of the 19th century, philosophy was generally assumed to be the queen of the sciences; history was a humble subject, living on the periphery of her realm. But the Italian, Benedetto Croce, held finally that philosophy was only a constituent element within history, that there is only one kind of judgment, the individual judgment of history i.e., all reality is history and all knowledge is historical knowledge. He vindicated the autonomy of history i.e. its right to conduct its own business in its own way, both against philosophy and against science... Croce (1912-3) defined philosophy as the methodology of history.[95]

How did the medieval Muslim historians treat and interpret History ? How did they make History intelligible ? Their conception of articulations of causality in History was different from the modern. In modern times three categories or orders of facts,—contingency or chance or individuality ; necessity or institutional or social elements, having certain laws : and logic or traditions and ideas,—constitute 'the warp and woof of history'. These have made historical causation so extremely complex that the threads cannot be disentangled even by science.[96] The medievalists attributed causality in history not to human action but to divine intervention. They interpreted history in terms of conventional religio-ethical background. History became subservient to religion and theology, a vehicle of didacticism. In other words, the emphasis on divine action relegated the element of chance to the background ; religion overbore all institutional or social needs and logic, and a moral formed a fitting finale. 'To all Arabic chroniclers political history was history par excellance ; the economic and social aspects of life were touched upon only incidentally. Historical causation was mainly provi-

dential because of Allah's constant interference.' (Hitti).[97] The medieval Muslim historians of India toed the line.

(a) *The play of Divine intervention or Free Will:*

History, to moderners, is humanistic. Modern historians conceive men as acting in or being acted upon by historical situations. But the treatment of medieval Muslim historians and biographers was different. History was regarded not as the story of human beings with free wills or volitions of their own, or the story of a developing, changing human nature in action but as providential, a spectacle of Divine ordination, a story of divine action in which human beings were mere agents. They were less interested in facts in their manifold variety and detail but more interested in those which satisfied their religious suppositions. They did not find intelligibility in history in the historical process itself. Men were mere puppets in an inscrutable drama whose meaning was known only to God. The divine decree being the final determinant of events, it was futile to interpret events with reference to complex economic and social forces. The individual was depersonalized.

Minhaj refers to human will at times but he clings to divine pre-destination. God made Islam victorious at the second battle of Tarain but He was absent in the first.[97]

To Barani history is theology—the study of God, His attributes and decrees, not of man. The past is a commentary upon Divine purpose for men and History is a vehicle for Revelation of God's purpose. At times, however, he analyses the Sultan's character to explain the events during the reigns of Balban, Alauddin, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and Muhammad bin Tughlaq. However he does not write all he knew of the last named Sultan, only what was necessary to understand the 'true inwardness of his reign'![98]

Afif seeks intelligibility in history in extra-historical facts, —by looking beyond history itself to the whole order of divine creation, which is inscrutable at times. Unlike Barani, Afif does not offer a coherent interpretation of how and why things happen in history. He does not interpret the past in such a way as to teach specific ethical principles and causes of action. The past is a spectacle of virtue, not a school of true religion. Firuz

Tughluq was an ideal king, but his mild policies led to gradual weakening of the state and military inefficiency.[99]

Yahya's approach to historical writing is casual and indifferent. However he refers to divine interpretation in History. At the end of his account of each reign he usually invoked the Arabic formulae ('God alone knows the truth' or 'God alone knows'). Narration of the mistakes of the great (e.g., Muhammad bin Tughlaq) he considers improper. Men should take heed from such narration though he does not indicate how. Setting his work in an essentially typically Islamic framework (praise of God, Prophet, Pious Caliphs, and Ali's two sons), he sees the will of God in the fortunes of Islam in Hindustan from the time of Muhammad Ghuri. The fatal fall of Qutb Shah, the victory of Iltutmish etc. were all decreed by God. But divine will was capricious, and Yahya had no deep conviction of divine governance of the world. At times he attributes events to human actions and decisions e.g. his analysis of causes of Md. Tughluq's difficulties). But this was merely incidental. Events first, causes are dragged in afterwards.[100]

Amir Khusrau also seeks to set his **Khazain ul Futuh** in the Islamic framework (praise of God, Prophet and Sultan, the Quran). Without referring to the assassination of Alauddin's uncle, he ascribes his accession to the 'Will of God', who 'ordained that this Moslem Moses was to seize . . . powerful swords from all infidel Pharaohs'. Amir Khusrau offers a spectacle of divine ordination. The **Tughluqnamah** was also couched in the idiom of a religious and moral melodrama. In final analysis history (i.e. actual events of the past) is unintelligible except on the assumption that God wills everything. Events do not happen through some process of human decision (e.g., **Qiran us Sadain, Khazain ul Futuh** and **Diwal Rani)** but due to Fate or God. But his idea of divine causation is arbitrary.[101]

,Isami's **Futuh us Salatin** follows the usual conventions of medieval Muslim writers in emphasizing divine intervention. It is also full of ethical stock in trade of medieval Muslim authors, viz., mystery of divine ordination and incomprehensibility of Fate. He assumes divine ordination as the cause of everything in general and many things in particular though sometimes he ascribes events to human motives and decision : Kaikhusrau, son

of Prince Muhammad, was set aside for Kaikubad, son of Bughra, due to decision of nobles.

To Amir Khusrau and 'Isami, the past is a drama of the clash of God and devils, hardly of men.[102]

This trait of early medieval Indo-Moslem historians has been adversely criticised by some modern writers, who have accused the former of dehumanising history. But this is a characteristic of medieval history in Europe also. Is not Christian history providential history? Christian thought ascribes events not to man's wisdom but to the dictates of Providence preordaining them. Man is not the wise (or foolish) architect of his own destiny, as he is to the scientific historian. The historical process is the working out not of man's purpose but God's. Similarly, to the medieval European historian also, history is not a mere play of human purposes but an illustration of a benevolent and constructive divine purpose.[103] He also endeavoured to find out the objective of divine plan in a theocratic world. The end of history is foreordained by God. It is foreknown to man through revelation. As the historian's task is to know the past, not to know the future, medieval historiography contained an element of eschatology, which is regarded as an intrusive element in History. Medieval history thus became not only theocratic but also transcendental. Hence it was weak in critical method. The medieval historian neglected the prime duty of the historian. His desideratum was not a scientific and accurate study of the facts of history but of divine attributes. He searched for the essence of history outside history in a theology, based on faith and reason. To the critical historian early medieval historiography had wrong aim (or direction) and was unsatisfactory and repulsive.[104]

The same attitude of divine ordination in history is noticeable in the Mughal period as well. Babur ascribes his victory at Panipat in 1526 to divine grace and mercy. Passages from Abul Fazl's preface to **Ain i Akbari** clearly prove this. Akbar is 'an ornament to God's noble creation'; 'No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty; 'Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues.' One of the 'Happy sayings' of Akbar was about the existence of a 'bond between the Creator and the creature which

is not expressible in language': 'The very sight of kings has been held to be a part of divine worship. They have been styled conventionally the shadow of God, and indeed to behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator, and suggests the protection of the Almighty'. Logically any thought or act of disloyalty towards the emperor would evoke divine anger and retribution.[105]

But it is remarkable that during the Mughal period the humanistic and secular aspects of history tended to be more marked and the divine or supernatural causation less prominent than in the Turko-Afghan periol. Abul Fazl often seeks historical causation in human nature which accounts for behaviour of ordinary individuals. True, Akbar's actions are explained, if at all, with references to supernatural or divine forces. But Abul Fazl hastens to point out that even the emperor must depend, besides divine assistance, on 'right design, just thinking and suitable action'.[105a] Further examples of humanistic causation in history may be seen in **Tazkirat ul Waqiat** of Jauhar, **Humayun-namah** of Gulbadan Begum, the **Tabaqat i Akbari** of Nizamuddin Ahmad, a colourless chronicle of external events and **Tarikh i Ferishta** containing an introduction, treating of the progress of Muhammadanism and is divided into 12 chapters, the headings of which contrast strikingly with Amir Khusrau's allusions. A perusal of Aurangzeb's last letters to Azam and Kam Bakhsh and his two wills will bring home this growing humanistic attitude to life and diminishing references to divine causation, though references to God continue therein. The religiously devout, orthodox, puritanical Emperor realises the futility of life's toil at long last. 'I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherising of the peasantry . . . Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my acts anxiety does not leave me . . . ' (to 'Azam). ' .....Although in the days of my power, I gave advice for submission to the will of God and exerted myself beyond the limits of possibility,—God having willed it otherwise, none listened to me. Now that I am dying, it will do no good..,I shall carry away with myself the fruits of all the punishments and sins that I have done . . . Although God will undertake the protection of His people, yet it is also obligatory

on Muslims and my sons. When I was full of strength, I could not at all protect them ; and now I am unable to take care of myself . . . ' (to Kam Bakhsh). 'I was helpless (in life) and I am departing helpless."[106]

(b) *Conventional religio-ethical background : history as propaganda:*

According to Turner 'History is the natural propaganda of a social order'; for this reason the oft quoted words 'History is past politics' ought to read 'History is present politics'. History has been used to buttress certain definite situations, regimes, and ideas in recent times. The medieval Muslim historians of India interpreted History or tried to make History intelligible in terms of conventional religious and ethical expectations of orthodox Muslim readers. They tried to satisfy those who wanted a popular (religious) moral,—avoidance of vanities of a wicked world. This was a common recurring burthen in the histories of this period (cf. 'Isami anl Yahya). Yahya's history warns his readers of the snares and delusions of worldly success. 'Isami made the past intelligible in terms of the conventional religious and ethical expectations of orthodox Muslim readers and men of affairs in 14th century India. His heroes act in accordance with certain moral stereotypes, rules of conduct and stock of responses in similar situations, i.e., were heroes or villains.[107]

The age of Akbar, one of political, religious and social ferment, required stability, political and social security. Mere military might was considered to be too inadequate a foundation for Akbar's conception of national monarchy. It required an academic justification or intellectual propaganda. Abul Fazl used the **Akbarnamah** to buttress Akbar's claim to supreme temporal and spiritual authority as a means of ensuring stability in that age. He wrote more as a literary artist than as a scientific historian, more as an advocate than as a judge. The **Akbarnamah** was in the nature of an academic justification or intellectual propaganda in favour of Akbar.[108] Similarly Badauni's history was also an orthodox Sunni propaganda seeking to strengthen the prevailing background of contemporary orthodox circles as against Akbar's liberalism. From this point of view both Abul Fazl and Badauni used history, but did not write it.

(c) *History at the service of religion* :

The rise of Christianity and the growth of the Church in Europe ushered a revolution in the history of history. History became subservient to religion. Unlike providential history which treats History as a play written by God for whom no character is favourite, theocratic history deals with events of a particular society under a God for whom it is a chosen people.[109]

In medieval India, too, history was theocratic i.e., made to serve the cause of Islam, the true religion, i.e., to glorify Islam. The Indo-Moslem historians accepted the Muslim world order and almost exclusively concentrated on the deeds of the Muslims in India, regarding the non-Muslims as passive instruments on whom to impose their will and practice virtue, as hewers of wood and drawers of water,—as victims of the sword, as converts or **jizya**-payers. From this point of view they were historians of a religious group, not of the whole people. They have been dubbed 'the first Muslim communalists of India' (Peter Hardy). Even Amir Khusrau, who gloried in being a Hindusthani, and was considerably interested in the language, music and sciences of the Hindu (e.g. in **Nuh Sipihr,** pointed out that Hindus live metaphysically in error and ignorance of truth.

This atttude of glorification of Islam helps to explain the contemporary accounts of Hindu-Moslem relations (Wars, battles, etc.) and much of the exaggerations therein made become intelligible. To the early medieval Indo-Moslem historians, History was 'theocratic, not humanistic' (Hardy).[110]

(d) *Didacticism*

The didactic element in history has been acclaimed by all earnest thinkers of antiquity. The Hellenistic age regarded history largely as a collection of **exemples.** Tacitus also held that 'history's highest function (is) to let no worthy action be uncommemorated, and to hold the reprobation of posterity as a terror to evil words and deeds.' The Judaeo-Christian or Biblical tradition was essentially didactic. Miskawaihi (d. 1030) and Tauhidi (d. 1023) held that the present generation might learn from the lessons of the past. This attitude continued to the end of the Middle Ages, to Tajuddin Sabki (d. 1370) and Ibn

Khaldun (d. 1406). But Firdausi differed. To Kalhana, the great objective of his work is didactic, to teach healthy lessons. 'This saga which is properly made up should be useful for kings as a stimulant or as a sedative, like a physic according to time and place.'[111]

To the early medieval writers like Barani, Yahya and Amir Khusrau, history was a vehicle of didacticism, a branch of ethics. Facts were twisted for moral reasons by Barani. History was an element of divine truth, to be written only by orthodox Sunni Traditionists. This was his religious philosophy of History. To Barani history is an emporium of moral virtues and sermons, of lofty thoughts and emotions. He teaches true religion and morality by examples in his **Tarikh.** It is an indispensable study for a good life. It warns readers to avoid the base and the contemptible[112]

Yahya beautifies his chronicle with a few morals, according to contemporary literary canons. The study of history imparts the lesson that there should be no more human history. His comments on the murder of Mubarak Shah, his hoped-for-patron (1428), indicates this attitude to life: 'this cruel world breaks the knot of friendship and sincerity, and discordant time fails to redeem its pledge of sympathy . . . ' He repeats and amplifies these warnings.[113]

Amir Khusrau gives moral advice to his heroes,—Sultan Alauddin (in **Dewal Rani)** and Qutb Mubarak Shah (in **Nuh Sipihr),** but these are formal abstract judgments of value; he does not prove them from history.[114]

To Abul Fazl history is 'a unique pearl of science which quiets perturbations, physical and spiritual, and gives light to darkness, external and internal'. Again, 'Chronicles unfold the feasts and fights ('bazm-razm'), the strivings and sports, the glooms, and the glories and other things relating to the knowledge of mankind and civilisation, the prespicacities of the wise, the mistakes of the learned, the various vicissitudes of the world, the simplicities of the great of the earth, the vain knockings at the door of inaccessible Fortune, the empty satisfactions of many members of the households of Reason and Testimony, and other singularities of the wonderful world. They also record many experiments and lessons in a pleasing and impressive manner. If enlightenment be brought to the task (of chronicle writing)

and regard be had to what is proper, a second life is bestowed on the inquiring and the laborious, such as they died wishing for, and the materials of eternal existence are gathered . . . . Moreover, in the spicery of varied traditions there are remedies for melancholy, and medicines for sorrow. Such agreeable electuaries are indispensably necessary in the social state ('nishah i-t'alluq').'

Nizamuddin says that from his youth, according to the advice of his father, 'I devoted myself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation; and by continually enquiring into the affairs of the travellers on the high road of life, which is to make the tour of realities: I thus removed the rust from inert disposition'.[116]

The didactic element in history diminishes in the Mughal period. This may be illustrated from the contents of such works as Ferishta, Md. Salih Kambu, Khafi Khan, Iswardas Nagor and Bhimsen Burhanpuri. There are more of events, of actions and measures taken, political, administrative or military,—of their causes and effects than morals or vague warnings.

(e) *Lack of critical acumen*

The medieval Indian historians were undoubtedly deficient in critical acumen. The Indo-Moslem historians have been accused of being recorders first, researchers afterwards. Their methods of studying history were comparable to those of studying 'hadis' (tradition), written from authority. History was a repetition of 'authoritative' known material, not a discovery of unknown data. The historian became a conduit, not a creator; he accepted without question; he transmitted information but did not transmute it in his own mind.[117]

The tradition of transmission of information continued through the Mughal period and influenced early British historiography on medieval India. Abul Fazl freely borrowed from his authorities without acknowledgment. Nizamuddin borrowed from al Utbi, Minhaj and Barani. Again, both Badauni and Ferishta were indebted to Nizamuddin. British historians also borrowed from these writers.

But it must be stated that lack of critical acumen characterised the medieval European counterparts of medieval Indian writers also equally. The medieval European historian depended for his facts, among others, on tradition and had no efiective means to criticize it. Criticism, if any, was 'a personal, unscientific and unsystematic criticism.'[118]

(f) *Absence of Sociological Aspects*

According to Grunebaum 'Historiography (in medieval Islam) did not set out to tell the saga of the evolution of society, nor did it wish to judge and interpret. Rather it meant to collect the accounts or the witnesses, marshalling them with the greatest possible completeness and with no concern for their contradictions. The reader was left to draw his own conclusions. The historian merely furnished the material. He took great pains to obtain reliable information and strictly accounted, in the style of the traditionists, for his authorities . . . The weakness of Arabic historiography is its concentration on personalities and on military incidents and court cables. The works of war attract incomparably more attention than those of peace. For the most part happenings are explained as results of intrigues and ambitions of kings, generals, or politicians. The forces which these leaders represent frequently go unnoticed. The public came to be interested in the lesson history taught. But the lesson learned was merely one of morality, insight into human character, and the vagaries of fate . . . '[119] One can hardly expect to find an independent political theory of study of the social forces of the age where everything was conceived as depending on God and His decrees. Yet the fourteenth century North African Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) could not only propound a theory of the power-state, transcending his age but conceived of society as an organic unit. To him the state was not only 'an end in itself with a life of its own, governed by the law of causality, a natural and necessary human institution; but also the political and social unit which made human civilization possible'. He took human civilization as the subject of his enquiry in his 'new science of history'.[120]

But history came to be regarded by medieval Muslim historians in India as something from divine inspiration or

divine decree or royal fiat, flowing from the throne. The historian presented a succession of events and acts of and about the great and the high (sultans, officers, saints) but not of 'the base and the lowly'. To the Indo-Moslems historian society was not organic but atomistic, or individualistic, the individuals living together but unrelated, clashing but not interacting. God, who is responsible for historical events, works through individuals, not classes.—There was no room for the 'social forces' or 'spirit of uthe age'. The present succeeded the past, but did not grow out of the past.[211]

A natural corollary of this was the absence of sociological aspects of history in the professedly historical works. Society takes a secondary place. In commenting on the trait of medieval writers to write on the activities of the rulers, Elliot observes that these historians recorded the deeds of 'grandees and ministers, thrones and imperial powers' and that society was 'never contemplated either in the conventional usages or recognized privileges; its constituent elements or mutual relations; its established classes or popular institutions; in its private recesses or habitual intercourses'. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any ranks subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only Grandees and Ministers, 'Thrones and Imperial Powers'. The horizon of the Indo-Moslem historians was limited to the deeds of the politically great and powerful. History was treated more as a biographical or political history material than as a sociological factor or social science. Further, the complete silence of Mughal official histories about the social conditions of the people disqualified them from being histories in the modern sense of the team.[122]

CHAPTER V

NEW SPIRIT

Distinct from the theocratic, didactic or/and official histories of medieval India, the objects of which were either the glorification of Islam or the exaltation of the great,—rulers, ministers and nobles,—there are some other types of works or some unusual features in the works already discussed, which strike a somewhat different note, and where we breathe a new spirit. Al Biruni's work has a deep sociological import. Barani offers his philosophy of the uses of history. Notwithstanding his propagandist use of history, Abul Fazl, as already explained earlier, not only displays his capacity for deep and advanced type ot historical research, which was unique in that age, but, what is very striking, also formulates a philosophical basis for secularism in state policy. His secular approach in history is perhaps his most remarkable contribution to historiography in medieval India. Badauni strikes, surprisingly enough, a rare note of secularisation amidst his grotesquely pervading orthodoxy. Bhimsen Burhanpuri displays in a striking manner some of the characteristics of a social historian.

Al Biruni

Though not purely historical in the narrow sense of the term, Al Biruni's work has to be included in a discussion on historical literature. Abu Rayhan Muhammad al Biruni, known in Europe as Aliboron (born 970-1 ; died 1038-9), was a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni. A native of Khwarizm, the oldest part of ancient Persia, he applied the true spirit of historical criticism in his study of the antiquities of the Ancient East. His 'Chronology of Ancient Nations' **(al-Athar ul baqiya),** is a work on comparative chronology, factual in arrangement but valuable. Besides dealing with the history of ancient Persia, it gives specimens of the old dialects of Sughd and Khwarizm.

He was essentially an intellectual of intellectuals. This famous encyclopaedic scholar, well versed in philosophy, mathe-

matics, astronomy, geography, medicine, logic, theology and religion, is justly regarded as the first and greatest Muslim Indologist. If he learnt Sanskrit and translated several Sanskrit works into Arabic, he also rendered some Arabic translations of Greek works into Sanskrit. He travelled extensively in India in the train of Mahmud and studied the language, sciences and philosophy of the Hindus extensively and embodied his observations on the religious condition and social institutions of the Hindus in his times. His book entitled **Tahkik i Hind** or **Tarikh ul Hind** (History of India) written in Arabic in unique in subject and scientific method. It was later translated into Persian. It is not a professed history. It is a deep sociological study, characterised by a rare spirit of enquiry, modern scientific attitude and sympathetic insight. Al Biruni himself describes the spirit animating him as follows: "This book is not a polemical one. I shall not produce the arguments in order to refute such of them as I believe to be in the wrong. My book is nothing but a simple historic record of facts. I shall place before my readers the theories of the Hindus exactly as they are, and I shall mention in connection with them similar theories of the Greeks in order to show the relationship existing between them . . . " Of him Max Muller said: "The world owes to him the first accurate and comprehensive account of Indian literature and religion". Al Biruni exhibited the rare spirit of impartiality and detachment. "The work of Alberuni is unique in Muslim literature as an earnest attempt to study an idolatrous world of thought not proceeding from the intention of attacking or refuting it but uniformly showing the desire to be just and impartial even when the opponents' views are declared to be inadmissible". Further Al Biruni's treatment of his sources reveals his scientific mind. "The Sanskrit sources of his chapters are almost always given, and Sachau's preface has a list of the many authors quoted by him on astronomy, chronology, geography and astrology. He was also acquainted with Greek literature through Arabic translations, and in comparing its language and thought and those of Hindu metaphysics, selects his quotations from the Timaeus and its commentator the Neo-Platonist Proclus, with judgment and rare ability. And he rarely fails to record his authorities . . . Al Biruni quotes freely from his authorities, and where these seem to exaggerate or to be inaccurate, his citations are followed

by some sharp brief commentary which gives a ceaseless interest to his pages. His treatment of these topics is throughout scholarly, showing extensive reading and precision of thought acquired by a study of the exact sciences." His "masterly criticisms" give him a "unique position among Eastern writers". His work, in fact, was "like a magic world of quiet, impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns and plundered temples",—a spiritual retort to Mahmud's oppression and iconoclasm.[1]

Barani's philosophy of History

Making due allowance for the religious outlook and for the defects of Barani according to modern criteria of a historian, there is no doubt that his **Tarikh i Firoz Shahi** (1359) was "the vigorous and trenchant expression of a conscious philosophy of history which lifts Barani right out of the ranks of more compilers of chroniclers and annals."[2] (a) Firstly Barani's passion lay in History anl he regards it as a science : "My life has been spent in a minute examination of books ; and in every science, I have studied many literary works both ancient and modern, and after the science of Quranic commentary, the study of tradition ('hadis'), jurisprudence ('fiqh') and the mystic path ('tariqa') of the (Sufi) Shaykhs, I have not seen as many benefits in any other form of learning or practical activity as I have in the science of history'. (TFS. 9).

(b) Secondly, to Barani History is not only a science, but the queen of the sciences :

"In this history I have written of the affairs of government and of the important imperial enterprises of Muhammad bin Tughluq (but) I have not concerned myself with the arrangement in the order of every victory, or every event or every revolt and uprising, because wise men are innately capable of considering carefully and taking due warning from a study of the affairs of government and the enterprises of rulers, and the ignorant and senseless, who have no desire or inclination to study circumstances of good and evil and who do not know that history is 'The queen of the sciences', through their own innate disposition and lack of understanding, even if they read the volumes containing the story of Abu Musaylima and repeated them, would

not be able to gain any benefit from them or take heed from them". (TFS 468). Barani then is writing for those who see the same truths in life as he sees. Explicitly he mentions that the **Tarikh i Firoz Shahi** has been so composed as to teach right conclusions (e.g., Md. Tughluq).

Thirdly, Barani mentions some advantages of studying History, which are of a limited nature, consistent with his limited view of History.

Modern thinkers may not wholly agree with Barani in all points, but some do find confirmation even now.

(i) According to Barani History acquaints men with the accounts of the deeds of Prophets, caliphs and sultans, political and religious leaders. Its true objective is moral edification. It is both an art and science, and supplies numerous examples. It is a record of the qualities and virtues of leaders but not of the evil deeds of the mean-minded people. (TFS, 9-10).

According to Peter Geyl "History provides perspective . . . tries to fulfil certain of our permanent and profound needs as civilized and social beings . . . The earliest monuments of history . . . were intended to glorify kings or priests or warriors ..... to shed luster on the dynasty, the church or the state . . . constituted a knowledge usefully for the stability of society and its institutions". Another modern writer acutely remarks : "History is the reservoir not of argument but of proof and the proof is mathematical."

(ii) Barani thinks that the connexion between Tradition ('hadis') and History is as close as between twins. Knowledge of these subjects is complementary. A traditionist needs be a historian to have better knowledge of 'hadis', to prove and explain it. History helps the faithful in understanding facts about the Prophet and his Companions.

(iii) Barani says that history by studying other's experience teaches commonsense and strengthens the power of reasoning and judgment.

(iv) Barani asserts that history imparts lessons to rulers,—Sultans, nobles and wazirs,—during emergencies, crises and calamities. The experience of others in parallel cases helps them to adopt solutions and avoid worry about hypothetical dangers. Hence history acts as a source of comfort, strength and warning.

This may well be compared with what some modern writers have observed. Lord Acton passionately believed that 'knowledge of the past' is 'an instrument of action' and eminently practical'. A. F. Pollard writes: 'Knowledge of public action in the past provides the best means of understanding public action in the present, and the safest guide for the exercise of political power. Through the proper study of history we can join the wisdom of Solomon to the counsel of Socrates by trying to get understanding and learning to know ourselves." Many historians have now retreated from this position and given up the doctrine of the practical 'use' of history. As every event is unique, the potentialities of every situation become unsurveyable and it becomes impossible to derive lessons or guidance from the past. But the essential value of history has been emphasized by several other historians. 'History is an aid to statesmen and orators, furnishing examples of actions to emulate or avoid or illustrations for speeches, which the user—if not the historian himself—may improve to suit the needs of an idea or a phrase.'[3]

A modern writer has summed up the purposes of history as being three: first, 'the enrichment of civilization by the re-examination of old modes of existence and thought'; second, 'the cultivation of the historical attitude of mind'; third, 'the elucidation of the present and its problems by showing them in perspective'. In dilating on the last point, he remarks: 'the present is not elucidated merely by connecting it with trends in the immediately preceding period, from which it may be seen to issue. The whole of history will help us to understand the world as we live in. A mind that has established contact with forms of life remote and unfamiliar, that has come to know great events and personalities of some particular period, pondering motives and evidence, watching the ever surprising shapes in which greatness and character appear, or studying the curious changes of social habits and the impact of economic factors—such a mind is likely to see more deeply into contemporary phenomena and movements, be it of culture and politics. This is what Burchardt meant when he said that history will make us wise; for although Bacon had said the same thing three centuries before, the great Swiss historian gave to the word a somewhat different connotation by adding, 'wise for always; not clever for another time.' He meant, of course, that 'history is not to be searched for prac-

tical lessons, the applicability of which will always be doubtful in view of the inexhaustible novelty of circumstances and combination of causes, but just this, that the mind will acquire a sensitiveness, an imaginative range . . . . We historians cannot give to anyone the knowledge required in capsules nicely dosed, effect guaranteed'.

'Yet undoubtedly the history of the recent past of one's own country or the group of countries belonging to the same sphere of civilization and power politics offers, for the purpose of understanding the present, a special and irreplacable interest. There is here by universal consent an immediate and practical use of history for any one trying to find his way through the politics of his own or of a foreign country, or, of course, through international politics. The same might certainly be said of virtually every field of cultural or social or economic activity, but let me here limit the discussion to political history.'

(v) Barani opines that through study of the lives of Prophets, their deeds and vicissitudes, history teaches patience, resignation and contentment and prevents despair in misfortune and distress.

The moral function of history as a store-house of elevating example has been acknowledged even by modern writers.

(vi) Through historical knowledge, (a) the character of the saints, the just and the virtuous become firmly fixed in readers' hearts'; (b) The evil, the base, the rebellious and the tyrannical and the havoc wreaked by them became known to sultans, ministers and kings of Islam; (c) History proves the fruits of good condust and the results of bad. The sultans and rulers are induced to follow good courses of action and not indulge in tyranny and oppression and not escape the obligations of the servanthood of God. The people also realise the benefits of their right action. Thus the study of history enables us to adopt the virtues of the good and shun the vices of the evil doers.

(vii) According to Barani history is a necessary foundation of truth. It is a true narration of good and evil, justice and injustice (oppression), obedience and rebellion, virtue and vice, so that readers may take warning and understand the benefits and injuries of worldly rule and follow virtuous paths and avoid evil. Thus history teaches us the moral lesson of ideal justice that vice is punished and virtue triumphs. (TFS, 11-13). Here Barani

widens the connotation of history and includes good and evil within its scope. But his view that religious orthodoxy guaranteed the historian's truthfulness (TFS. 13-14) indicates that his 'conception of truth is religious and ethical, not historical'.

Geyl observes (p. 81) : 'The discipline of history, the historical spirit, is a force for truth and against myth'.

(viii) To Barani the historian immortalises all those of whom he writes.[4] Similarly to Kalhana History is more potent than the mythical ambrosia : The latter immortalises a single individual but a true history immortalises a number of great men as well as the historian.

Abul Fazl advocates secularism in state policy.

Abul Fazl offers a strikingly secular approach in his outlook and histriography which not only reflected the liberal tone of 16th century Mughal India under Akbar but also inspired it. In his conception of an ideal king ('Insan i Kamil') he pronounced that the king must be above religious differences and must not be a mother to some and a step-mother to others, so that universal peace and toleration ('Sulh i Kul') was established. Instead of beginning the **Akbarnama** with homage to God, the Prophet and the Caliphs Abul Fazl, gives a secular genealogy of Akbar from Central Asian Kings. The book is singularly free from religious fanaticism or communalism and conventional encomia for the saints. To Abul Fazl, trained in Arabi's system, as to al Biruni, the Hindus, notwithstanding their image-worship, were monotheists and not idolatrous. All this appears not only highly significant, but also extremely striking when we recall that Akbar's reign witnessed the completion of the Islamic millennium **(alf).** Again, Abul Fazl's analysis of the causes of tension and misunderstanding, religious and communal dissensions possesses an eternal significance, irrespective of time and space, viz.,

(i) 'diversity of tongues and the misapprehension of mutual purposes'.

(ii) distance preventing contact between 'the learned of Hindusthan from scientific men of other nationalities' and the scarcity of an 'accomplished linguist' i.e., interpreter.

(iii) man's addiction to physical delights and lack of interest 'in accounts of foreign peoples'.
(iv) Indolence and averseness to 'assiduous research'.
(v) 'Inflexible customs', restricting inquiry and adherence to traditional beliefs.
(vi) Religious persecution of rulers discouraging 'earnest enquirers' from 'meeting on a common platform of study and discussion which helps correct understanding.
(vii) supremacy of unprincipled 'wretches' which obscures truths 'through unrecognition.'[5]

Badaoni mixes secularism with orthodoxy.

Badauni is reputed for his orthodoxy and criticism of Akbar. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that Badauni possessed an original mind. This is reflected in his notice of Islam Shah's administration which is highly significant. It does not seem to be satirical. Indeed it breathes a secular spirit. According to Abbas, the biographer of Sher Shah, his laws were made "both from his own ideas and extracting them from the books of the learned". This phase of substantive legislation developed further under Islam Shah. Badauni refers to a code of regulations extending to approximately 80 sections of paper containing directions for every case of difficulty and which all were obliged to follow rigidly. Further Islam Shah sent 'written orders to all the 'sarkars' containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion and all political and civil questions entering into the minute and essential details and dealing with all regulations which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction.' He further significantly observes, 'All these points were written in these documents, whether agreeable to the religious law or not, so that there was no necessity to refer any such matter to the Qazi or Mufti, nor was it proper to do so.' What is this if not secularisation at least in a limited field ?[6]

Again, he declared his professed aim to be to write correctly. He writes in his preface : 'Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from

my pen, the instrument of my thoughts or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agents of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He, in accordance with His universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it."[7]

Bhimsen as a social historian.

Bhimsen Burhanpuri, a kayastha hereditary civil officer of Mughal government (b. 1649)—and author of **Nuskha i Dilkusha** (c. 1708-9), looked at Aurangzib's reign through the eyes of a contemporary Hindu. Living 'near enough to the Mughal officers to learn the events accurately but not near enough to the throne to by lying flatterers', he 'knew the truth, and could afford to tell the truth.' He was free from the worst defects of official historians. He has supplied many things which are lacking in the complete official history of Aurangzeb's reign, viz. (1) causes and effects of events, (2) state of the country, (3) condition of the people, their amusements, (4) prices of food, (5) condition of roads, (6) social life of the official class and (7) incidents in Mughal warfare in the Deccan. The following passages are revealing and show Bhimsen to be a social historian of the times.

'Ever since His Majesty had come to the throne he had not lived in a city but elected all these wars and hard marching, so that the inmates of his camp, sick of long separation summoned their families to the camp and lived there. A new generation was thus born (under canvass)... only knew that in this world there is no other shelter than a tent... All administration has disappeared..."

"There is no hope of a jagir being left with the same officer next year...the collector does not hesitate to collect the rent with every oppression. The ryots have given up cultivation ; the jagirdars do not get a penny."

"One kingdom has to maintain two sets of jagirdars..... The peasants subjected to this double exaction have collected arms and horses and joined the Marathas."

Bhimsen refers to Maratha risings being due to administrative exploitation and oppression on peasantry in areas near Maharashtra lands and the cultivators joined the Maratha deshmukhs and senapatis.[8]

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The problem of historical objectivity

The problem of historical objectivity is of primary significance for phisosophy of history. It is generally admitted that there is a subjective element in historical thinking, which changes or limits the nature of expected objectivity. The impersonality of physics cannot be expected in history, which is sometimes described as a science of men, or science of the mind. The question arises whether and in what sense medieval Indian historians were objective. The fore-going brief study of some representative medieval Indian historians and their writings would indicate their outlook and attitude. In the first place there is the question of personal bias. It would appear that there are some definite instances of how their ideas and viewpoints were coloured by their affairs, their likes and dislikes. Some historians of the Turko-Afghan period and Mughal official historians have admired great men. In such cases history centred round ideas and actions of the hero. In those days it was difficult for majority of the writers to openly express antipathy to great men. But there were some notable exceptions, e.g. Al Biruni and Isami in Turko-Afghan period. During the Mughal period, Badauni's history had to be kept concealed during Akbar's time, because of his invectives against Akbar. Bhimsen has, in a way, criticised Aurangzeb's prolonged warfare in the Deccan against the Marathas and he could afford to do so.

In the second place, there is the question of group prejudice. This covers prejudices or assumptions of historians belonging to a certain group, nation, race or social class or religion. Such assumptions are more subtle or widespread in their operation than mere bias and less amenable to detection or correction than personal likes or dislikes. Religious beliefs may be a matter of rational conviction and may not be a product of irrational prejudice. So its influence on the historians' thinking may be regarded as being inevitable or perfectly proper. In those days religion was the determining basis of thinking of

historians and, as explained before (Ch. IV), they placed history at the service of religion. The early Indo-Moslem historians accepted the Muslim world order and used history to serve the cause of religion and theology, to glorify Islam,—exclusively concentrating on the deeds of Muslims and regarding the Hindus as passive instruments. They acted as historians of a religious group, not of the whole people.

More subtle than personal ideas or group prejudices were underlying philosophical, moral or metaphysical beliefs, ultimate judgments of value in understanding the past; conception of nature of man and his place in universe. Medieval historians of India approached the past with their own philosophical ideas which decisively affected their way of interpretation of history. Their theories of historical interpretation differed from the modern. In the first place to medievalists history was not due to human action but divine intervention. If divine decree decided the course of events, there was no need to interpret history with reference to complex social or economic forces. Barani, Afif, Yahya, Amir Khusrau, Isami, all believed in divine intervention in history. In Mughal period also the attitude of divine ordination was noticeable but now the humanistic aspect of history became more marked and the divine causation less prominent than in Turko-Afghan age.

The Indo-Muslim historians of the medieval period could not offer proper or objective interpretation of the facts they collected with reference to causes and effects of events. History, to them, was a means to learn virtue, and to distinguish good from evil as explained in the Quran. By honesty and arduous labour Abul Fazl wrote the history of Akbar, who by his wisdom, was the 'cynosure of penetrating truth-seekers'. Badauni wrote his **Muntakhab ut** out of grief and heart burning for 'the deceased religion of Islam'. Abdul Hamid Lahori emphasized the role of the King as the defender of Islam and upholder of the 'Shariat' as a means of salvation.

Again, history was interpreted in terms of conventional religio-ethical background. Historians like Isami and Yahya tried to satisfy their readers who wanted a popular religious moral, avoidance of vanities of a wicked world. Abul Fazl used the **Akbarnamah** to support Akbar's claim to supreme temporal and spiritual authority. He tried to give an academic

justification and an intellectual propaganda to Abul Fazl's and Akbar's ideas of kingship. Badaoni reflected the orthodox Sunni point of view.

Thirdly, Indo-Muslim historians like Barani, Yahya, Amir Khusrau, emphasized the didactic element in history. In the Mughal period, however, it diminished, though some historians like Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin referred to the moral value of history.

In such an atmosphere historical objectivity would appear to be a game of hide and seek, as elusive as an eel. But it is doubtful if personal bias or group prejudice, divine causation, religious or moral interpretation of the historical process of the kind discussed above is a serious obstacle to attaining objectivity in history, because such bias or prejudice and such an interpretation can easily be corrected or at any rate allowed or guarded against. The author of the chronicle on which the historian relies, might have an axe to grind and so the particular source will contain only facts that fit in with a pre-conceived theory. A Barani or a Badauni might be so selective in facts as to highlight his dissatisfaction or grievances against Muhammad Tughluq or Akbar. But the critical historian of today need not depend on such partisan propaganda, as he has other means to check such accounts and can also apply the test of plausability. The extent of the success of the modern historian in thus checking and using the medieval historians will be measured in the next volume.

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CHAPTER I

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3. Trevelyan, 'Clio, a Muse'. See my '*Thoughts on the study of Indian History*', General President's Address, Indian History Congress, 1976.
4. Collingwood, 52.
5. Rajatarangini, I. 3-5, 7, 21. *Itihasa* comprehended *Purana, itivritta* (ancient occurrences), *akhyaika* (historical tales), *udaharana* (declaratory songs or panegyrics), *Dharmasastra* and *Arthashastra*. Kautilya regarded *Itihasa* as the fifth Veda and held its scope to be remarkably wide,—including not only legendary and true tales ; occurrences ; *prasatis*, but also treatises on religious ; social and political matters. See article by B. N. Mukherji in Quarterly Review of Historical Studies (henceforth abbreviated QRHS), 1963-64.
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8. Bhuyan, 'Assamese Historical Literature' in IHQ, Sept., 1929; Assam Buranji found in the family of Sukumar Mahantha, xxxv-xlii. See the list of publications; Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam. See also Sri Amalendu De, 'Asamiya Sahityer Itihas Prasange', *Anushilan*, Aswin, 1372 B.S.
9. For Marathi sources, see Sarkar, *Shivaji* (1952), Bibliography; Sen, *Shiva Chhatrapati,* Appendix; Rawlinson and Patwardhan, *Source Book of Maratha History,* Vol. I, Part I and Preface; Srivastava, 'Sources', and also Bibliography in R. C. Majumdar (ed.) *Mughul Empire*, 1974; Sherwani (ed.) *Medieval Deccan*, 2 vols.
10. See Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion;* I. Banerji, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, 2 vols. N. R. Ray, *Sikh Gurus and Sikh Society;* Ganda Singh, *Banda Bahadur ; Ahmad Shah Durrani ;* Grewal.
11. As Habibullah remarks: "Apart from the numerous Jaina and Hindu theological works written during the Sultanate period, which continue to yield valuable information, Hindu chronicles and literary compositions also deserve to be closely studied. Among the latter the fragmentary *Prithviraj Vijaya Kavya*, believed to have been composed in the life time of the Chauhana ruler and the *Hammira Mahakavya,* a versified history of the Chauhana house of Ranthambhor completed early in the fourteenth century, are of importance for obvious reasons. So are the Rajput traditions, collected by Muhnot Nainsi in the seventeenth century, as also local and dynastic chronicles like the *Rasmala* and the *Rajamala* for Gujarat and Tipperah respectively." Instances can be multiplied. A very remarkable work in corrupt Sanskrit, named *Shekashubhodaya* (advent of the Sheikh) belonged to Akbar's time. It is a memoir of Saint Jalaluddin Tabrezi, who visited Bengal in 13th century and was responsible, according to tradition, for converting many Hindus in N. Bengal. Though it is found to be a forgery it is useful for social history. It has been edited by Sukumar Sen.
Habibullah, 'Re-evaluation of the Literary Sources of Pre-Mughal History', *Islamic Culture,* XV (April, 1941). For a study of intellectual co-operation between Hindus and Muslims, see Habibullah, Medieval Indo-Persian Literature relating to Hindu Science and Philosophy (1000-1800 A.D.). *Indian Historical Quarterly* XIV (March, 1938), pp. 167-181.

CHAPTER II

1. My article in QRHS. (1963-4), Pts. 1 and 2; H. Dodwell, *India*, I, 22-24; Majumdar (ed.), *Delhi Sultanate.*
2. See Bibliography B. Muslim Historiography, Section 1 for detailed references.

3. The Arabic word *Ta'rikh* means history in general, annals, chronicles and is derived from the root *w-r-kh* (Warekh and means 'fixing of the month' i.e., fixing the period of an event, history' and 'fixing of dates', era, chronology (Hebrew *Yareah* 'moon' *Yerah,* 'month'. The system of notation or calculating dates is called *djummal* (*chronogram*) i.e., the total of the value of letters in a work according to the *abjad formula.* See *Ency. Islam,* articles by B. Carra De Vaux (vol. IV, 672) and *Zaman* (ibid by M. Plessner) (Supplement, 1938, 230-33), Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians,* 18.
4. B. Lewis in *Historians of the Middle East* (abbreviated as HME) 3, 46; Thompson, History of History Writing, 355, 339.
5. According to the Biblical or Judaeo-Christian tradition good actions based on belief in God are rewarded while evil actions and unbelief are punished, either in this world or the next. This is the divine plan for a man's salvation. Such a belief not only influenced the commentaries on the Quran and *hadis,* but also Muslim historiography. F. Rosenthal, Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim historiography in HME, 36. No. 2 HME, 9; Thompson; *op. cit.,* 336-8.
6. HME, 10, 47-8; (No. 2); Conception of Cultural Continuity of Arab history (51-2), Philologists genealogies, 53.
Khuda Bukhsh; *Isl. Civ.* 281-2; *Studies,* 150; *Ency. Isl.* 235., Margoliouth, Lect. 1, 22, 41, 59; Hell, 66, 88, 89; 92; Hitti. *History,* 243-4.
According to Margoliouth the pre-Islamic period was treated with vagueness and uncertainty. But Hitti has shown that under the Umayyads some works on ancient history of S. Arabia were written by a Yemenite story teller named 'Abid ibn-Sharyah for Caliph Muawiyah'. One of these survived till the time of Masudi. (*Ency. Soc. Sciences*).
7. Thompson, 340-2; Duri in HME, No. 3, 52-3; Claude Cahen in ibid No. 5, 59, 6.
8. HME, No. 1, No. 3, p. 6.
9. HME No. 1, p. 27; Thompson, 340; Browne, *Lit. History,* i.201 n.
10. HME 26.
11. Hitti, History . . . , 387-92; *Enc. Soc. Sciences,* 236; Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies,* 150; *Isl. Civil.* 310-11. According to Grunebaum the roots of Muslim interest lay in biography and history. 'Curiously enough, historiography proper at times attains to greater adequacy and sophistication in the presentation of character. The tribal genealogy of the *ayyam* tales, the stories told by transmitters traditionists to explain allusions in obscure poems, the endeavours of the motivate and localize precisely the origin of the *hadith,* the records of individual conversion to Islam and of the manner in which any specific place surrendered to Muslim autho-

rity—all these stimuli of historiography made for the cultivation of accuracy in detail and for predilection for documentary, or at any rate, contemporary, evidence".
Grunebaum, *Med. Islam,* ch, 8, pp. 276-84; *Sources of Arab History* in Ibid.

12. HME No. 13, 9-10.
13. HME, 435; Gibb, 56n; Beazley I. 451-3; *Ency. Brit.* (11th edn.) (1911), xxvi ; JWT 34[2] Margoliouth, 101; Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies,* 152-3; *Isl. Civ.* 309-11; Hitti (*Ency. Soc. Sc.*); *Islam and the West,* Pt. 2, *History,* 391. The abstract of the Masudi is known as the 'Green Medows'. *Ency. Islam,* 236.
14. Grunebaum, *Med. Islam,* 289, 290.
15. Nature of historical literature in Arabic and Persian analysed, *Ency. Islam,* 240-2; Nizami, *Religion and Politics in the Thirteenth Century.*
16. *Ency. Islam,* 240-2: "The renaissance of the Samanid age . . . gave the Persians a perfect literization of their life as a nation. While subjected to simplification and, in many instances, to remotivation, history in the account of Firdausi's Book of the Kings is never hampered in its flow by the technical inadequacy of the poet."
Grunebaum, *Med. Islam,* 200 ; *Islam* (ch. X. Firdausi's conception of History), 168, 169.
17. Hitti (*Enc. Soc. Sc.*); Khuda Bukhsh; J.W.T. 343, 357: HME 59.
18. HME 7-8, 59-60 (No. 5), 80-2, 96; J.W.T. 350.
19. (i) H. M. Ahmad No. 6, HME 83-5, 60-64, 88-90, 91-2.
(ii) Cahen No. 5, HME 59-60; 82-3, 84-5, 92-94, 111-115; JWT 347.
(iii) HME 64-66, 82-3, 88-90; JWT 352.
(iv) HME 87-88, 79 (Ahmad No. 6).
(v) HME 83, 99.
(vi) HME 97.
20. Thompson, 345-6.
21. Ency. Soc. Sciences; JWT 357-9.
22. Thompson, 346-7.
23. Thompson, 354-5 ; *Yule Cathay and Way Thither* (Hak. Soc.) Vol. 33, 37, 38, 41.
24. Issawi, *Arab Philosophy of History* (1955) ; S. Khuda Bukhsh, 'Ibn Khaldun and his history of Islamic Civilization', a translation from von Kremer in *Islamic Culture* (1927)', *Isl. Civilization,* 311; Gibb, The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy', *Bulletin School Oriental and African Studies* (1933-5); Margoliouth, 156-157; *Ency Soc. Sciences*: Hell, 92. *Ency. Islam,* New ed. III.
25. Khuda Bukhsh, *Ist Civ.* I. 309.

26. Margoliouth, pp. 5-10. (Lecture 1). The Arab historians followed four methods of studying biographies :
(a) poets and musicians (b) geographical (c) chronological (Tabaqat, layers or classes) and (d) alphabetical (e.g. Yaqut). Of these the best arrangement for students of history was the Tabaqat which ensures continuity, the essence of history.
Hell, 92 ; Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies*, 157.
According to Gunebaum the Muslim idea of History was at one with the Zoroastrian in viewing the life of mankind as a process of limited duration (12,000 yrs). The coming of Islam was the climax of happenings. Grunebaum, *Islam*, ch. X, pp. 171, 173.
HME No. 9, p. 118, HME 6.

27. Flint, *Hist. Phil. of History ;* Margoliouth has compared the ideas of Ibn Khaldun based on generalizations drawn from the study of the records of his history with those of Aristotle :
"The idea is curiously like that of Aristotle, who drew up or caused to be drawn up accounts of a great number of constitutions, and from his observations of what happened compared his great treatise on politics. Both assume that there is a uniformity in human conduct comparable to the uniformity of nature ; that certain modes of life develop certain tendencies ; both eliminate so far as possible all elements that are exceptional and draw their inferences from normal occurrences, the repetition of which after the like antecedents justifies them in formulating rules. Ibn Khaldun does not like Aristotle aspire at creating an ideal state ; he is of opinion rather that human affairs follow a natural course and expects nothing but recurrence of the same series of which his historical studies had furnished so many examples. The result is a philosophy because it does not contemplate continuous progress, but strictly limited form of it, which bears the seeds of destruction ; the effete population of the towns must regularly give way to the vigorous immigration from the wilds. And it might have been possible to foretell the future of N. Africa with fair accuracy from the theories propounded by Ibn Khaldun." (156-157)
Local History : HME p. 8 (Nos. 8, 9) 59-60, 109-110, 116-7.

28. Toynbee, *A Study of History,* III ; Sarton, *Intro. to Hist. of Science.*

29. Gibbon had access to later authors (in Latin translations), to whom this remark applies

30. Margoliouth, 155-160.

CHAPTER III

1. For general accounts and critical survey of Medieval Indian Muslim historiography, reference may be made to

(i) Hardy, *Historians ;*
(ii) Philips (ed.) *Historians*, Part I Sec. B. India in the period of Muslim Rule pp. 115-139 : Essays by P. Hardy (Some Studies in Pre-Mughal Muslim Historiography) 115-127 ; A. Rashid (Treatment of History by Muslim Historians in Sufi writings, pp. 128-138 ; Treatment of History by Muslim Historians in Mughal Official and Biographical Works pp. 139-154.
(iii) Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, 'Survey of Medieval Indian Historiography' in QRHS. Vol. 3 (1963-64) Nos. 1 & 2 ; and Ideas of History in Medieval India in *ibid*. Vol. 4 (1964-65) Nos. 1 &
(iv) Majumdar (ed.) *Hist. & Culture of Indian People*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Vols. V, VI, VII, VIII.
(v-vi) *Cambridge History of India*, Vols. III and IV ;
(vii) S. R. Sharma, *Bibliography ;*
(viii) Gibb, *Ency. Islam* (art. on *Ta'rikh*) ;
(ix) Bibliographies in standard monographs and other works.
(x) Pearson ; *Index Islamicus.*
(xi) Mukhia, *Historians & Historiography durng the Reign of Akbar*, 1976.

2. E & D Vol. I.
3. *Ibid.*
4. F. Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 77-82 ; Hardy in Philips, op. cit. 115-27 ; My article in QRHS, Vol. 3 (1963-64).
4a. See works by Muhammad Habib, K. A. Nizami, S. H. Askari and H. K. Sherwani.
5. Philips, op. cit. 115-7.
Gibb (*Enc. Islam*, 239-42) groups Hasan Nizami also as a successor of *Fakhr-i-Mudabbir* along with Minhaj and Barani in the line of chroniclers. But Nizami belongs to a different category.
6. My article in QRHS, 1964-5, p. 30.
7. S. R. Sharma, Bibliography ; A. Rashid, in Philips, *op. cit.*, 143.
8. Some *Farmans* dating from the time of Akbar and records have been studied & edited. See Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire ; Mughal Empire* ed. R. C. Majumdar (Ch. 1 by A. L. Srivastava), (i) *Jaridata-i-Farman-i-Salatin i Delhi* (Aligarh MS) ; (ii) K. M. Jhaveri, *Imperial Farmans* (1577-1805), pub. 1928 ; (iii) B. N. Goswami and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* (1967), (iv) J. J. Modi, *The Parsees at the court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana* (1903) ; (v) *A Descriptive list of Farmans, Manshurs and Nishans* addressed by the Imperial Mughals to the Princes of Rajasthan (Bikaner, 1962) ;
9. *Ain i Akbari* (henceforth abbreviated as *Ain*), Tr. Intro. vols. 1-3; *Akbarnama* (henceforth abbreviated as AN), Tr. Intro. ; E & D vol. v; Rashid in Philips, *op. cit.* 146-7. Sarkar's Intro. in Tr.

Maasiri Alamgiri ; Nizami, Abul Fazl as a Historian, in *Zaklr Husain Presentation* vol. 1968 ; Philips, *Historians* etc.

10. Davy and White ; *Institutes of Timur ; Tuzuk i Baburi,* Tr. King's edn. and Mrs. Beveridge ; *Tuzuk i Jahangiri,* Tr. Rogers & Beveridge.
11. E. & D. IV ; Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire Builder of 16th Century ;* Elias & Ross, Tr. of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi.*
12. S. Ray, *Humayun in Persia ;* S. K. Banerjee, *Humayun Badshah ;* Ishwari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun.*
13. E. & D. Vol. IV ; Bibliography in Qanungo, *Sher Shah ; Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi,* ed. and tr. by B. P. Ambasthya ; N. B. Roy, Tr. of *Makhzan i Afaghana.*
14. Bibliography in Smith ; *Akbar ;* Srivastava, *Akbar the Great,* 3 vols; Rizvi; *Religious and Intellectual History ;* ch. 7.
15. E. & D. Vol. VI ; B. Prasad, *Jahangir.*
16. Saksena ; *Shahjahan ;* Sri Ram Sharma, *Bibliography;* my article in *Patna Univ. Jour.,* 1945.
17. Sarkar ; *Aurangzib,* 5 vols ; Sri Ram Sharma, *Bibliography.*
18. Sharma; *op. cit.*
19. Compare Sir Edward Denison Ross's *Arabic History of Gujrat* (Indian Text series), Wali's Persian account (Bibliotheca Indica Series), and Sir E. C. Bayley's translation of the *Mirat i Sikandari* (also in E & D). For *Mirat i Ahmadi,* see *Bibliography.*
20. E. & D.
21. See *Bibliography* for details.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. See Sarkar, *Hist. Bengal,* vol. 2, Bibliography.
26. See Bibliographies in H. K. Sherwani ; *Hist. of Qutb Shahi Dyn; Hist. of the Deccan,* 2 vols., and my *Mir Jumla ;* J. N. Sarkar's *House of Shivaji* (*Fatuhat i Adil Shahi*).
27. See Bibliographies in H. K. Sherwani ; *Hist. of Qutb Shahi Dyn ; Hist. of the Deccan, Mahmud Gawan* and my *Mir Jumla.*
28. See Bibliographies in Radheshyam's *Ahmadnagar* and *Malik Ambar* & J. N. Chaudhuri's *Malik Ambar.*
29. Thompson, *History of History Writing,* 2 vols ; Collingwood, The Idea of History (1966), pp. 9-11, 282-304 ; Burckhardt, *Civilization of Renaissance,* Part IV, Ch. 5, pp. 328-37.
30. Aligarh Muslim University Ms.
31. Hardinge Lib. Delhi MS ; also in Sarkar Coll. in National Lib., Calcutta.
32. E. & D. ; Riazul Islam, *op. cit.*
33. In 3 parts. Portion dealing with Akbar, edited by S. Moinul Haq (Pakistan Historical Society Pub).
34. E. & D. ; Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India; Nuskha* and *Tarikh i Dilkusha,* Tr. by Maratha Govt. Archives Dept.

35. E. & D. ; Riazul Islam, *op. cit. ;* M. U.
36. Sharma, *Bibliography.*
37. *'Ain ;* Tr. vols. I-III; *Haft Iqlim ;* Bib. Indica edn. (in progress).
38. *'Ain.* Blochmann, vol. I, preface ; For Aurangzeb's letters, see CHI. IV (Bibliography). *Adab i 'Alamgiri* ed. by Dr. Maclean (Australian National University, Canberra).
39. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration ;* Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure M.E.*
40. See f.n. 13 *ante ;* Rizvi, op. cit, ch. 7.
41. E. & D.; Sarkar ; *Maasir i 'Alamgiri,* Preface iii ; Gibb in *Ency. Islam,* 238, 244.
42. E. & D. VII, 168-170.
43. See f.n. 17 ante. MU i. 4, 391 ; Saksena ; *Shahjahan,* iii-v ; E. & D., VII, 4.
44. See Sarkar ; *India of Aurangzib ; Ency. Islam.*
45. To these 'Slavish crew' of Hindu writers a Hindu was 'an infidel', a Muhammadan 'one of true faith'; Hindus killed had 'their souls despatched' to hell, but a Muhammadan dying drank 'the cup of martyrdom' they spoke of the 'light of Islam', of the 'blesed Muhurram' of 'the illustrious Book'; they began their book with a 'Bismillah'.
H. Elliot ; *Bibliographical Index,* vol. I, Preface ; vii ; xv, xviii-xix.
46. J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India, op. cit.*
47. My article in QRHS 1964-5, p. 30.
48. *Ibid,* p. 37.
49. My article in QRHS, 1964-5, p. 30.
50. Elliot, *Bibliographical Index* etc. I. xiii-xv.
51. Quoted in Philips, *op. cit.* 140-1.
52. For the whole of this section reference may be made to 'Authorites' in my *Study of the Eighteenth Century,* vol. I (1707-61) (Calcutta, 1976).

CHAPTER IV

1. Hardy, *Historians.*
2. Collingwood, *op. cit.* 49f, 53.
3. *Ency. Islam,* 236 ; Hitti *Hist. of the Arabs.*
4. E. & D., relevant volumes. See Bibliography under each title.
5. *Ency. Islam,* 238 ; Hardy in Philips, *op. cit.* 120.
6. E. & D., v. 181-2.
7. E. & D. vii.
8. E. & D., I.
9. *Ency. Islam,* 242.
10. *Ibid.*
11. See fn. 19, ch. III.

12. See Bibliography.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. There are a few contemporary histories of Bijapur :
    (a) *Tuhfat ul Mujahidin* (in Arabic) by Shaikh Zainuddin al Ma'bari, with an account of the Portuguese up to 1583. Translated into English by Rawlandson (1833) and by Md. Husayn Nainar (1945)
    (b) *Tazkiratul Muluk* by Mir Rafiuddin (bin Nuruddin Taufiq Husain Shirazi), (b 1540-1 ; written during 1608-35). A high officer of Bijapur he wrote this history dealing with early rulers (especially Ali Adil Shah I and Ibrahim Adil Shah II). It also gives a short history of Bahmani dynasty, of Malik Ambar and also of the Mughals upto Akbar. Describing his own methodology he says : 'It was necessary to put on record the activities and dealings of certain rajas of the country who were ruling from the days of the infancy of Islam . . . In this way I made extensive investigations and carried on thorough research and have linked them after close examination with the thread of the narrative. And whenever I happened to observe personally I have compiled that matter as well,' (Quoted in Sherwani, *Medieval Deccan*, ii, 580). Partial trans. (re : Bahmanis) by Major King in supplement to his tr. of *Burhan i Maasir.*
    (c) *Muhammadnama* see Chapter III. Very rare. Kapurthala Lib. Ms. d. 1782 ; Transcript in Sarkar colln. National Library, Calcutta. English Tr. by B. D. Verma ('History in *Muhammadanama*') in Shivaji Nibandhavali, II Poona, 1931.
    (d) *'Ali Nama* vivid but eulogistic metrical history in Dakhni (1614) by Mir Nusrat ('Nusrati'. d. 1675 ; ed. by Abdul Majeed Siddiqui, Hyderabad, 1959.
16. Gibb in *Ency. Islam*, *op. cit.* gives the following examples:
    (a) *Tarikh i Alfi,* a composite work compiled by order of Akbar to celebrate the millenium of the Muslim era.
    (b) *Subh i Sadiq*—by *waqia'nawis* Md. Sadiq Azadani (d. 1061/1651).
    (c) *Khuld-i-Barin* of Md. Yusuf Walih (written 1058/1648).
    (d) The work of Md. Baka' Shaharanpuri d. 1094/1683.
    (e) *Tuhfat al Kiram* by Mir Ali Shir Kani. after 1202/1787 with a supplement relating to Sind and three Persian works. Safawi Dynastic history (not reproduced).
17. Shotwell, 9-11.
18. Shotwell, 176, 197-8, 230-4, 241, 292; 295; 298, 301, 310, 314; Collingwood, *Idea of History ;* R. C. Majumdar in Philips, *op. cit.*
19. Margoliouth, 11-17.

20. My article in QRHS, 1964-5, p. 35.
21. My article in *Historians of Medieval India,* ed. M. Hasan.
22. *Ency. Soc. Sciences,* 362-3.
23. Shotwell, ch. 5 ; Margoliouth, 17-19 ; Grunebaum, 281.
24. Sarkar, *India Through the Ages,* 50-1.
25. Smith, *Akbar* (Bibliography) ; E. & D.
26. Margoliouth, *op. cit.* Hitti in *Ency. Islam,* 381-3.
27. Rajtarangini, I. 3-5, 7, 21 ; See articles by R. C. Majumdar, (Ideas of History in Sanskrit Literature) and A. L. Basham (The Kashmir Chronicle) in Philips, *Historians . . .* 13-28 ; 57-65.
28. E. & D., II. 2-3.
29. Sachau's Al Biruni, I, 22.
30. *Ibid,* I, xvii-xix.
31. E. & D. II. 14-16 ; 25, 29, 36, 39.
32. E. & D. II. 53-60.
33. S. H. Askari, Patna Univ. Journal, July, 1963, xviii-3, p. 59.
34. E. & D. II 210, 204-12.
35. P. U. Journal, *op. cit.*
36. E. & D.; Raverty ; Hardy, in *Historians, ed Philips ; op. cit.*
37. E. & D. II. 259-66; Raverty's Intro.
38. E. & D. S. Gupta edn. 6-7.
39. Al Biruni, Baihaqi and Utbi came from C. Asia. Hasan Nizami Nishapuri and Minhaj came from abroad. Ziauddin was born in India.
    Barani sorrowfully alludes to the lack of patronage & appreciation of history-writers in India. E. & D. ; Hardy ch. 2; Philips; *ISL. Culture* (1938), 76-97.
40. The eight kings were Balban, Kaiqubad, Jalaluddin, Alauddin, Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, Muhammad Tughluq and Firoz Tughluq.
    Isl. Culture (1938), 94, 95 ; *Ency. Islam,* 242 ; E. & D. III, 93-268 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Delhi Sultanate ;* Hardy, 39 ; JASB (1870), 43ff ; Mahdi Husain ; *Muhammad Tughluq* 247-50.
    Barani was "conspicuous as a honey-bee of the daintiest flowers of wit and humour" (*Seir ul Auliya*) in Isl. Culture (1938), pp. 88, 81-2.
41. But see Geyl, 83 ; Barraclough, 25, 15 ; TFS 13-16, 23 ; *Isl. Culture,* XII (1938), 92-3.
42. TFS. 23, 123-4 ; Hardy, *Historians ; Isl. Culture,* op. cit. ; 93-5.
43. E. & D., III, 95 ; But see PIHC VII, 276 (favourable).
44. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India,* 11 ; article in *Isl. Culture,* XV (1941), Pt. 2, 207-16 ; Hasan Barani's article in *Isl. Culture* (1938), 95-96. Peter Hardy, article in *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies,* 1957, 315-21, *Historians,* ch. 2.

45. Lanepole, Ishwari Praad ; *Qaraunab Turks* (1936), 344-7; Mahdi Husain, *Muhammad Tughluq* (1938), 248-50 ; R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects* etc ; Wolsley Haig ; *Camb. History of India ;* III ; Qureshi ; *Adm. of Sulttanate of Delhi* (1942), 12-13. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the people of Hindusthan* (1959), intro ; Lal, *History of the Khaljis.*

45a. The work has been translated by M. Habib and Mrs. Afsar Khan as *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate.*

46. *Ency. Islam,* 238 ; Hardy in Philips, *op. cit.* 120.

47. E. & D. V, 181-2. Hardy, *Historians* . . . ch. 3: According to H. Mukhia Afif's contribution to historiography was his technique of phasing a reign ; but the phases were not chronological (*Historians ;* . . . p. 26).

48. E. & D; Hardy, *Historians ;* ch. 4 ; Philips.

49. Hardy, ch. 4 ; E.D.

50. *Qiran us Sadain,* at the request of Sultan Kaikobad ; *Diwal Rani,* of Khizr ; *Nuh Sipihr,* of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak ; *Tughluqnama,* of Ghiyasuddin ; *Miftah ul Futuh,* out of gratitude to Sultan Jalaluddin for favours received and *Khazain ul Futub,* to gain Alauddin's favour. *Qiran us Sadain,* for fame in death as in life, not gold. Hardy, ch. 5.

51. E. & D.; Hardy, ch. 5 ; JASB (1860), 227. E.D. III, 67-9 ; App. 523-567 ; Mirza's edn. of *Khazain al-Futuh* Intro. 12 ; Hardy, *Historians ;* ch. 5 ; Philips, *Historians,* 146.

52. E. & D.; Hardy, ch. 6 ; Philips, *op. cit.*

53. Hardy, *Historians* . . . .

54. Hardy, ch. 6 ; E & D.

55. E & D III, 389-391.

56. *Ibid,* 461.

57. E & D. III. 394-5.

58. *Ibid,* 429.

59. E & D. III, 400.

60. E & D. III, 396-7.

61. E & D. III. 397.

62. E & D. III. 396.

63. *Ibid.*

64. E & D. III. 428-9.

65. E & D. III. 397.

66. E & D. III 397.

67. Babur's Memoirs. King's edn., v, vii-xxxiv ; E. & D. IV. 218-220, 223, 229 ; Lanepoole, *Babur,* 11-12 ; Babur's *diwans,* JASB, 1910. 876 ff ; Sharma, *Bibliography.*

68. Jahangir's Memoirs, Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, 2 vols ; vol. 1, Intro ; ix-xi ; E & D. vi. 251-5, 282 ; Sharma *Bibliography.*

69. Mrs. Beveridge, Tr. of *Humayunnamah ;* I. Prasad, *Humayun.*

70. E & D. V. 127-129 ; Erskine, I. 193.

71. Beveridge, *Akbarnamah* I, 627 ; Smith, Akbar, 464 ; Ind. Ant. XLIV (1915), pp. 233-44 ; S. Banerji, *Humayun Padshah*, i. 261; 123n, 3 ; E & D V. 136-8 ; S. Ray, *Humayun in Persia ;* I. Prasad, *op. cit.;* H. Mukhia, 165-69.
72. Sarkar, Tr. *Maasir i Alamgiri,* Preface, iii ; Gibb in *Ency. Islam,* 238, 244
73. *Ain,* Tr. vol. I, Intro ; vol. 2 & 3 ; *Akbarnamah,* Tr. Intro.; E & D V ; Rashid, in Philips, *op. cit.;* 146-7 ; Sharma, *op. cit.;* Moreland, *Ag. System ;* Ibn Hasan ; Sarkar, *Mughal Adm.,* Smith, *Akbar,* 459 ; *Maasir ul Umara,* Eng. Tr. I, 117-28 ; My 'Ideas of History in Medieval India', QRHS ; Srivastava.
74. *Ain* (Blochmann), i. 280 ; AN (Beveridge), I ; Rashid ; in Philips, *op. cit.,* 146-7 ; Rizvi ,Rel. and Intellectual Hist., p. 267.
75. *Akbarnamah,* 4-9, Beveridge I, 13-25.
76. *Ain,* Blochmann I, 1-2 ; Sarkar, III. 461-4. Rashid, *op. cit.* Sharma.
77. Beveridge I, 27-28 ; *Ain* (Sarkar) III. 455-9 ; 475.
78. *Ain i Akbari, op. cit ; Akbarnamah, op. cit.*
79. Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure* 7-9 ; Moreland, *Agr. Sys. Moslem India ;* Smith, *Akbar,* 460, Blochmann, *Ain,* Intro, vi ; Sharma.
80. Sharma, 3, 81, 89 ; Jarrett, II. Intro ; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration,* Regulations regarding education (Bk. II, Ain 25) has no relation to facts. *Ibid ;* Smith, *Akbar,* 459.
81. *AN.* Bev. ii Intro ; *Ain,* Jarrett and Sarkar, ii, pp. vi-vii ; E.D., vol. VII ; Rashid in Philips, 145-6 ; *Maasir ul Umara ;* Beveridge, AN III, p. xii.
    S. A. A. Rizvi points out that Abul Fazl tried to replace the Arabism and grotesqueness of the historians of the Mongols of Iran with the language of neoplatonic, peripatetic and *ishraqi* thinkers ; Rel. and Intellectual Hist . . . . 265.
82. *Maasir ul Umara,* I, 4, 391 ; Saksena, III-V ; E. & D.VII, 4.
83. E. & D. VII, 175.
84. E. & D. VII, 177, 181-83 ; Sarkar, Tr. *Maasir i 'Alamgiri,* Intro; *Studies in Mughal India ;* Beveridge, *Maasir ul Umara,* Tr. I, p. 4, n. 7 ; 666.
85. Badauni, Haig III. 137, 138' 151 ; Lowe II. 309 ; E. & D. V, 177 ff ; B. De, Eng. Tr. of *Tabaqat* (Asiatic Soc.) ; Smith, *Akbar* (App.) ; *Maasir ul Umara,* Eng. Tr. II, 394-8 ; Rizvi, *op cit.* 278 ; Mukhia, ch. 4.
86. MT. I. 2-4 ; II. 211 ; E. & D. V, 477 ff, 480 ; Eng. Tr. 3 vols. Ranking, Lowe & Haig ; Sharma, *Bibliography,* 38-39 ; Moreland ; *Agrarian System ;* Smith ; *Akbar* (App.) ; Mukhia, ch. 3.
87. E. & D. VI, 207-18 ; Briggs, *Rise* . . . Vol. I, Preface ; Dow, *Hist. of Hindusthan,* 3 vols ; J. Scott, *Hist of the Deccan ;* Sherwani, *Cultural Trends ; Hist. Qutb Shahi Dyn.*

88. E. & D. VII, 207-210 ; Khafi Khan, II, 726 ; E.D. VII (S. Gupta edn. 53-4) ; M.U. Tr. I, 4, 32, 47, 70, 226 ; II 139, 468 ; Sharma, *Bibliography*.
89. Sarkar's Foreword, in Syed Nawab Ali's Tr. *Mirat* (GOS); Supplement, Tr. by Nawab Ali Seddon, Foreword.
90. Shotwell, *op. cit*. R. C. Majumdar in Philips, *op. cit*, 22 ; Issawi, 2.
91. Ibn Khaldun, I. 56, 11, 44 ; Issawi, 27-30.
92. A. B. M. Habibullah, in *Islamic Culture*. XV (Apr. 1941), 207-16. See Utbi E. & D. ii, 50. Ibn Batuta's sympathies were towards the ecclesiastics ; Margoliouth, pp. 20-21.
93. Geyl, *Use and Abuse of History*, 62-63.
94. *Ency. Soc. Sc.* 359-60. Names of Sciences, 360.
95. Shotwell, ch. 2 ; Geyl, pp. 6-47 ; Collingwood, Pt. iv, 134-200, 196-7, 202-2.
96. *Ency. Soc Sc.* 361.
97. *Ency. Islam.*
97a. *Tabaqat i Nasiri* refers to control of events by Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghur, and to divine will in the rise and growth of Seljuq power and accession of Iltutmish.
98. *Fatawa i Jahandari* (85-9) and *Tarikh* (261-97 *passim*) refer to human will ; Hardy (*Historians*, ch. 2) quotes instances of divine will.
99. Hardy, 52-4.
100. Yahya, 33-4 (human) ; Hardy, ch. 4.
101. *Khazain* (Habib), 6 ; Hardy, ch. 5.
102. *Futuh* 124-37 *passim*, 231-5, 329-41 for human volition ; Hardy, ch. 6.
103. Collingwood ; the individual has to be the willing instrument of divine will, if he wants to avoid frustration. cf. the Patristic doctrne pertaining to Fathers of the Christian Church.
104. Collingwood, 55 ; Mukhia holds a different view, 172 ; ch. I.
105. *Ain ;* AN ii. 69, 97-98, 138.
105a. AN. ii, 68, 97, 141, 234-5 ; iii. 50.
106. Sarkar, *Aurangzib;* 384-390. I.O. Library Ms. copy of the will quoted by Sarkar.
107. Hardy, *Historians*.
108. *Ain*. Abul Fazl's Preface; Philips, 146-7.
109. Shotwell, 364; Collingwood.
110. Hardy, *op. cit*.
111. Shotwell, 314 ; Grunebaum, *Islam*, 175 (for Firdausi) Kalhana, V. 21, I. 3-5, 7, 21; Majumdar in Philips, *op. cit*. 21.
112. *Tarikh i Firuz Shahi*, 69-80, 95-106, 152-156, 289-296.
113. Hardy, ch. 4.
114. *Ibid*, ch. 5.

115. Philips, 146. AN. II. 378; Bev. II. 548-9.
116. *Ibid. Tabaqat* i. 1-2.
117. Hardy, *op. cit.*
118. Collingwood.
119. Grunebaum, 281-3.
120. "In the *Muqaddama* (Introduction) to this Univelsal History (*Kitab al'Ibar*) he composed a *Summa*, not of theology but of civilization, founded on that Islamic civilization with all of whose aspects he was thoroughly familiar. His political theory is part of his descrption of *'Umran*, in the specific sense of 'civilization'. The close connection between civilization and politics as the art of government is apparent from Ibn Khaldun's terminology; for 'Umran is synonymous with *madariya* and *hadara*, settled urban life (as distinct from *badawa*, rural life). *Hadara* in turn is equivalent to *tamaddun*, to live or become organised in a city (*madina*) in the sense of the Greek polis." "Ibn Khaldun's empiricism, manifest in his new science", is matched by his traditionalism.
Rosenthal, *Pol. Thought in Medieval Islam*, 84. For comparison of Ibn Khaldun with Machiavelli, *Ibid*, ch. 4.
121. Hardy, *Historians.*
122. Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History—for 'its great object', says Dr. Arnold, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilized man, namely, the vicssitudes of institutions, social, political and religious . . . . In Indian Histories there is little which enables us to penetrate below the glittering surface, and observe practical operation of a despotic Government and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies". Elliot, *Bibliographical Index*, Vol. I; Sarkar, Intro. to Tran. *Massir i Alamgiri.*
M. Habib's demolition of Elliot's thesis in *Collected Works*, ed. by K. A. Nizami, pt. 1.

CHAPTER V

1 Sachau, *Al Biruni*: *'Ain.* II. Jarrett, Intro.
2. Hardy, 20.
3. Barraclough, *History in a Changing World*, 15; Shotwell, *op. cit.*
4. TFS 9-13, 468. Article on Zia Barani in *Islamic Culture* XII (Jan., 1938), p. 89; Hardy; Geyl, 2, 10, 12ff, 14, 81-85, chs. 2 and 3; Shotwell, 355, 260. Hardy in *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies*, 317.
Do not secretaries of state and foreign secretaries thumb the volumes of war documents published by various governments? Do

they not read the biographies or memoirs of their predecessors ? Will not an ambassador send out to a country begin by reading up that country's history ?" (Geyl, 85).

5. Ain (Blochmann and Phillot), vol. I, Abul Fazl's Preface (Kingship), vol. iii (Jarrett and Sarkar), 3-6 (Causes of tension) ; 8 (Hindus); AN. vol. I, 8-9 (unorthodox), 48-9 (genealogy); Mukhia, 85-7 ; Rizvi, 274-5.

6. Presidential Address, Section IV, Indian History Congress, 1955, by the present writer. This aspect has not yet been adequately emphasized.

7. *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Eng. Tr. I ; E. & D. V, 477ff ; Eng. Tr. by Ranking ; Lowe and Haig ; Presidential Address, Indian History Congress (1955) Sec. IV by the present writer.

8. Sarkar ; Aurangzib, 377, 449. *Studies in Mughal India ; Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*. See Eng. Tr. of the work published by the Director of Archives, Maharashtra Government, Sir Jadunath Sarkar Birth Centenary Commemoration Vol. ; also my article in *Itihas* (Hyderabad), vol. II, No. 2, 1975 ; pp. 92-122.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

On account of the large number of historical writings of the period as well as of the growing nature of the broad subject of historiography the bibliography has necessarily been selective and is divided into the following seltions :

Section A : Hindu Historiography.
Section B : Muslim Historiography outside India.
Section C : Period of Arab and Turko-Afghan rule.
Section D : Mughal Period.
Section E : Catalogues etc.
Section F : Reference Books.
Section G : Historiography in General.
Section H : Selected Modern Works.

SECTION A : HINDU HISTORIOGRAPHY

In our country the word *Itihasa* (*iti-ha-asa*, 'so indeed it was') means history. But the term was not used in the etymologiral sense and included stories, legends etc. In fact Indian literature, useful as a source of history, is of two kinds : historical and non-historical. From the point of view of evolution the latter comes first.

Thus the oldest Indian historical tradition, however inchoate, may be traced to the *Vamsas* and *Gotra-Pravara* (or dynastic and genealogical) lists of Vedic literature, the *Gathas* and the *Narasamsis*. The growing historical sense of the Indians is illustrated by the Vedic Historical Traditions (*Samhitas, Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*). Though vague and defective,—mixing mythology and folklore, ascribing historical causation to supernatural forces, and indifferent to chronology and topography alike,—the Vedic tradition was subsequently utilised in the Epics and the Puranas. In course of time the *Itihasa-Purana* (as in *Chhandogya Upanishad*) and *Itihasa* (as in *Sela sutta*) came to be dignified as the fifth Veda, while *Itihasa-veda,* as a sacred literature, came to be recited during *Aswamedh* sacrifice. The *Mahabharata* also came to be regarded as *Itihasa* with a didactic character. By the time of Kautilya, Itihasa came to include even *dharmasastra* and *arthasastra.* The religious works of the Buddhists and Jains throw light on persons and events..

The most important of historical works are (i) the portions of the *Puranas* with dynastic lists down to the time of the Imperial Guptas and (ii) the *Charitas* or biographical sketches of rulers e.g. *Harshacharita* of Banabhatta ; *Gaudavaho* of Vakpatiraj ; *Ramacharita* of Sandhyakara Nandi ; *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballal ; *Kumarapalacharita,* both by Jayasimha and Hemchandra ; *Navasaha-*

sankacharita of Padmagupta ; *Vikramankacharita* of Bilhana (12th century); *Hammirakavya* of Nayachandra ; *Prithviraj Vijafa* of Jayarath ; *Prithviraj Raso* of Chand Bardoi. But these are more literary than historical works, lacking the fundamental canons of historical writings e.g. running narrative of events, analysis of main characters ; adequate reference to chronology or topography. Some Tamil works throw light on Kings of the South. Two Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dipavamsa* (4th century A.D.) and the *Mahavamsa* (6th century A.D.) fall outside our period.

According to Kalhana, an historian has to give a connected account 'where the narrative of the past events (*bhutartha-varnana*) had become fragmentary in many respects'. He referred to earlier works of Suvrata, Kshemendra, Chhabillakara and Helaraja and also of the *Nilmata*. He even used archaeological sources e.g. inscriptions in his composition (*Rajatarangini ;* Book I).

Vijayanagar :

Even the mighty Vijayanagar Empire which stood as the last bastion of Hinduism in the South for more than two hundred years, has hardly any formal contemporary history in Telugu. Historical material can however be culled from inscriptions in stone and metal, non-historical literary works like *Madhuravijayam* by Ganga Devi wife of Kumara Kampana ; and introductions to *Kridabhiramam* of Vallabhraya, *Kashikhandam* and *Bhimakhandam* of poet Srinatha, and eulogistic works like *Velugotivarivamsavali*, *Ramarajyam Aravitivamsacharitram* and *Ramarajana Bakhar,* which are partial and exaggerated. The village records, *Kaviles* and *Kaifiyats* (collected by Col. Colin Mackenzie), throw light on socio-economic and political history, but mix up fact and fiction and needs cautious and critical approach.

See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History,* Madras, 1919.

K. A. N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, *Further sources of Vijayanagara History*, 3 vols., Madras, 1946 ; *History of Medieval Deccan*, 1295-1724, 2 vols ; ed. by H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, 1973-4.

Marathi :

The medieval Marathi saint-poets left valuable data for contemporary social life with incidental references to political history and impact of Muslim rule on the people, viz. (i) The *Jnaneswari* (wr. 1290) of Jnaneswar ; (ii) The *Abhangas* of Namadeva (d. 1350); (iii) Subsequent writings of the saints of the dissident *Mahanubhava* sect, viz. (a) *Rukmini Swayamvara* of Narendra ; (b) the *Smritisthala* (a corpus of memoirs of such saints in 13th and 14th centuries, referring to Muham-

mad Tughluq's discussions with Hindu ascetics and Sophists on theological and philosophical subjects, ed. by W. N. Despande, 1960; (c) *Sthanapothi* (wr. 1353, giving topographical details, ed. by V. B. Kolte, Malkapur; (d) *Riddhipura Varnana* by Narayana Vyas Bahaliye or Naro Vyasa (wr. after 1363, ed. by Y. K. Deshpande), (e) *Riddhipura Mahatmya* by Krishna Muni (known as Dimbh Kavi), ed. by Y. M. Pathak, Sholapur, 1967. Mention must also be made of *Gurucharitra* of Saraswat Gangadhar (wr. in second half of 16th Century), a 5th generation descendant of Sayamdeva, disciple of Nrisimha Saraswati of Gangapur (15th century), progenitor of the Dattatreya cult in the Deccan (which aimed at synthesis of Hindu and Sufi mysticism). This work is of considerable historical and social importance; 6th edn. by Ramachandra Krishna Kamat, Bombay, 1968.

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SECTION B. MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY OUTSIDE INDIA

I

For a general idea of the subject the following works may be consulted with profit:

H. A. R. Gibb, article on Ta'rikh in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Supplement, 1938 pp. 233-45); P. K. Hitti, article on Islamic Historiography in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.* Vol. VII (1951), pp. 381-383 ; *History of the Arabs : Islam and the West ;* Joseph

Hell, *Arab Civilization*, Eng. tr. by S. Khuda Bukhsh ; Margolioouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (1930); S. Khuda Bukhsh, *Contributions to Islamic Civilization*, Vol. I ; *Studies, Indian and Islamic ;* Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam* (1953), Ch. 8, *Islam ;* Charles Issawi ; *An Arab Philosophy of History* (1955) ; Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun*, New York, 1930 ; Bernard Lewis, *The Arabs in Histoy, London,* 1954 ; Carl Blockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, London, 1959 ; P. P. Wiener (ed.), *Dictionary of History of Ideas.*

Names of other modern scholars on history of Islam are given in Section H—Selected Modern works.

II

Names of authors and/or their books referred to in this book are given blow :

Abu El Bekri (d. 1094), writing on the history of Negroland.

Abul Ghazi Bahador Khan (1605-64), wrote Genealogical History of the Mongols and Tartars

Abu Hanifah, Ahmad ibn Dawud al Dinawari (d. 895), author of *al Akhbar al Tiwal.*

Abu Said Abdullah bin Abul Hasan Ali Baizawi (b. at Baiza, near Shiraz), author of *Nizam ut Tawarikh* (c. 1274-94), a book on general history. The date of his death is placed by scholars between 685/1286 and 699/ 1299-1300.

Abu Salih (Saleh), wrote on Churches and Monasteries of Egypt.

Abu Shama (1203-68), author of *al. Rawdatayan* (dealing with times of Nuruddin and Saladin); also of an appendix to it *(al Muzayyal ala al-rawdatayn).*

Abu Zaid ul Hasan of Siraf.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad al Makkari (1581-1632) wrote the most valuable history of Arab rule in Muslim Spain.

Ahmad ibn Muhammad ar Razi (d. 937) wrote on Muslim Spain.

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Al Idrisi (Abu Abdullah Muhammad), geographer and historian (12th cent.), author of *Nuzbat ul Mushtaq fi Ikhtirak ul Afaq*, 'Delight of those who seek to wander through the regions of the world'. It is called *The Book of Roger*, after Roger II of Sicily, E & D I. 74-93.

Al Khatib (1022-93), author of History of Baghdad.

Al Kindi (d. 961), topographer and historian.

Al Madaini (d. 840) writing on Wars of Conquest.

Al Maqrizi (1364-1442) wrote on topography and antiquities of Cairo.

Al Masudi (Abul Hasan 'Ali) (d. c. 956), author of *Murujal Zahab* (Meadows of Gold) E. & D. I. 18-25.

Al Qurashi (802-71), author of *Futuh Misr.*
Al Sakhawi (15th c. A.D.), a biographer, who emphasized the life of the community.
Al Tabari (838-923), author of *Tarikh ar Rasul wa'l Muluk,* ed. by De Goeje *et. al.*, 13 vols. Reprint 1964-5.
Al Waqidi (747-823), Abu Abdullah Muhammad wrote on Wars of Conquest.
Arib bin Sa'd (c. 996) wrote on Muslim Spain.
Baer ud Din Mahmud al 'Aini of Egypt (15th century)
Bahauddin (1145-1235) of Mosul.
El Kudai'i (d. 1062), jurist and historian.
El Musebhihi (d. 1029) wrote on history of Egypt.
Eutychius (Said bin Batrik) (d. 940), wrote on Coptic history.
Firdausi (935-1025), author of Shahnama (1010).
Hamza ibn al Qalanisi (d. 1160), author of Damascus Chronicle (1056-1160).
Hilal al Sabi, historian of Buwayhid period.
Ibn Abd al Hakam (d. 870-1), writing on war of Conquest.
Ibn Abd Rabbini (of Cordova, d. 940), poet & historian.
Ibn abi Usaybi'a, author of *'Uyun al anba'* (on doctors).
Ibn Adhari (d. 1292) writing on Muslim Spain.
Ibn Asakir (1105-75), author of *Tarikh Dimashq.*
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Ibn al Athir (d. 1233-4) al Jazari, author of *Kamil ut Tawarikh* or *Kamil fit Tarikh* or *Tarikh i Kamil; al Bahir* on Atabegs of Mosul (1084-1211); *Usd al ghaba* and *al Lubab,* two biographical dictionaries : See Ibn Asir in C *post.*
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Ibn Khallikan (1211-82), author of *Wafayat.* Eng. Tr. by B. McGuckin de Slane.
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Ibn Qutayba (Md. ibn Muslim al Dinawari), d. 889, author of *Kitab ul Ma'arif.*
Ibn Sad (d. 845), author of Lives of the Companions of the Prophet and their Successors (*Kitab at Tabaqat al Kabir*).

Ibn Shaddad (d. 1234) author of *al Nawadir* (on Saladin).
Ibn Taghri Birdi (1411-69), author of *Hawadis ad Duhur* and *Nujum az-Zahera*, and *The Annals* (about the Timurides and the Ottomans).
Ibn Wadih al Yaqubi (d. 891), geographer and historian.
Ibn Wasil, author of *Mufarriz* (on the Ayyubids).
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Ibn Zulak (d. 997) wrote on history of Qazis of Egypt.
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Kamaluddin ; author of History of Aleppo, a biographical dictionary.
Khazaraji, author of *History of the Rasulids of Yemen.*
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Sibt Ibn al Jawzi, 1185-1257, author of *Mirat al Zaman*, biography and history combined.
Takiya al Din Ahmad Makrizi (1365-1442) writing on history and topography of Egypt ; on History of Mussulman Kings of Abyssinia and several other works.
Thabit b Sinan, historian of Buwayhid period.
Usama ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), author of *Umara al Yamini.*
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Yaqubi historian and geographer d. 897.
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Errata

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
16	24	He	She
17	33	storey telling	story telling
20	19	Mnslim	Muslim
21	35	adib	arib
21	23	Rawdatayan	rawdatayn
22	6	Mufarriz	Mufarrij
26	1	Nisapur	Nishapur
32	3	'Book of Ways & Provinces'	'Book of Routes & Kingdoms'
32	5	Surul	Suwar al-
32	11	(al Kazwini, 1203	al Kazwini (1203)
34	17	Shammsuddin	Shamsuddin
38	31	Zararnamah	Zafarnamah
40	17	Tawalikh	Tawarikh
60	21	perrs	peers
60	31	at Hanif	al Hanif
61	1	das Hindustan	dar Hindustan
77	28	Muhammal	Muhammad
77	28	Jabbar ul	Jabbar al-
80	20	underl	under
84	36	picked	pricked
135	9	ph losophy	philosophy

Dr. R. C. Majumdar's Opinion

"An Introduction to Medieval Indian Historiography" by Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar deals with the art of writing History in pre-British India. He has shown that the modern idea of History being principally a chronicle of actual facts was not seriously followed by the writers of History in pre-British India. It is not a little curious, however, that the Sanskrit word **Itihasa** really means "This had happened (**iti-ha**-asa)" which very briefly but correctly describes the proper meaning of History. But though Kalhana's **Rajatarangini** is a fair specimen of history from this standpoint the Hindu or Muslim historians did not keep up to this ideal and modern ideas of writing history did not take deep root in the soil of India before she came into contact with Europe in the Nineteenth Century.

Dr. J. N. Sarkar has dealt in this book with the deficiencies in the historical literature in pre-British India. He has taken immense trouble to analyse the characteristic features of Indian historiography and drawn attention to its shortcomings, as compared with the modern ideal of history.

The book is a very important addition to the literature on Indian historiography.

Sd/- R. C. Majumdar
18.6.77.